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THE NOTION OF
THE DESERT IN SUMERO-ACCADIAN
AND WEST-SEMITIC RELIGIONS

BY

ALFRED HALDAR

THE UNIVERSITY OF UPPSALA

UPPSALA

A.-B. LUNDEQUISTSKA BOKHANDELN

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Preface

The main part of the MS of this monograph was written in the spring of 1947, and since then it has been in the press. The delay in its publication is due to certain causes which need perhaps not be specified. As time passed on, a revision of some parts of the work appeared to be necessary. Some pages were added in Ch. I, and Ch. II was entirely rewritten. Also in Ch. III some alterations were made, and the Conclusion was rewritten, which, I hope, are improvements.

In issuing this monograph I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the editorial staff of the *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, especially to the Rev. Professor Hjalmar Lindroth, for their benevolent support of my work and their kindness in consenting to my delay in its publication.

The Rev. G. E. Björk has corrected my English. I tender him my most cordial thanks.

To my printers, Messrs. Almqvist & Wiksell, and to the staff of the press, I am greatly indebted for their care and skill as well as for their never-failing patience.

Uppsala, February 1950.

Alfred Haldar.

Introduction

In my previous work, *Studies in the Book of Nahum* (UUA 1946:7), I promised a sequel, which is presented in this investigation. I intend here, in somewhat greater detail, to discuss a number of problems upon which I touched in the above-mentioned work, to wit, the rôle of the notion of 'the desert' in the religious concepts of the Sumerians and the Eastern and Western Semites. More particularly, the subject of my investigation will be the rôle of 'the desert' as a notion parallel to the Nether World. It goes without saying that this connotation of 'the desert' has been observed by previous scholars; as to Sumero-Accadian culture, K. Tallqvist's study of *Sumerisch-Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*¹ should be mentioned, and, as to the equivalent ideas of the Western Semites, I wish to refer to Johs. Pedersen's *Israel. Its Life and Culture* in which the author elucidates the parallelism between the notion of 'the desert' and that of the Nether World.²

In the present study, our main attention will be devoted to the details of the ritual, in which we meet a kind of 'exodus' into the desert as an equivalent to the *descensus ad inferos*. This rite may be considered a *rite de passage* occurring both in Sumero-Accadian rituals and in West-Semitic ones. In this connection, I should like to stress that this statement does not include the conception of an identical cultus practised in all these areas of Semitic civilization, nor of an identical religion. However, it cannot be denied that there are many points of agreement between the main trends of ancient Mesopotamian and West-Semitic religion. Many important motifs, for instance, may be met with as being common to both areas. This may apply to many other cultural elements. This fact is commonly held to be due to the rather homogeneous civilization of the whole Near East, evident particularly during periods of political centralization. Originally,

¹ *Studia Orientalia* 5:4/1934.

² See below pp. 11 ff.

the political situation of Mesopotamia was that of division into a number of city states. In these early periods we may assume that the homogeneity of civilization may have been less apparent than in later periods when the results of the harmonizing activity of various great dynasties appear. But even with regard to an early stage of the history of Sumerian civilization, it can with fair certainty be maintained that many important ideas were common to various local centres of religion. Furthermore, it is easily recognizable that, at an early date, Mesopotamian civilization spread to other parts of the Near East. This fact does not give the impression that the various Sumerian city states were isolated from each other in a very high degree. This being so, there is nothing astonishing in the fact that we meet with many points of agreement between Mesopotamia and the West-Semitic area with regard to religion as well as to civilization in general.

From this angle, Albrecht Goetze makes an important statement in his review of C. H. Gordon, *The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat and Other Poems from Ugarit*, 1943, where he stresses the necessity of investigating the literary forms, for instance, in Ugaritic on the widest possible scale.¹ "It must not remain limited to the 'biblical' field, but has to take into consideration all that is left of the epic literature of the Near East regardless of the language in which it happens to be preserved: Akkadian, Sumerian, Hittite, or Hurrian."² In the sequel, Goetze says that the time for such an investigation has not yet arrived. "But already a superficial examination of the material available today shows that almost every single element that Gordon claims as 'Canaanite' has a wider range."³ Among such elements, Goetze mentions parallelism as a poetic form; the expression the 'Rider of the Clouds'; names of tools and weapons; the care to be given to 'widows and orphans' — a motive which can be traced back to Gudea and Uru-kagina; 'oil and honey' as symbols of fertility, and so on.⁴ Accordingly, none of these motifs can be claimed as specifically 'Canaanitic'. The stream of tradition, upon which we touch here, is much broader than such claims envisage. It minimizes and exaggerates at the same time the significance of

¹ *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* 63/1944, p. 432.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

the elements common to Ugaritic and Hebrew literature, if they are lightly attributed to, and monopolized for, 'Canaanite' tradition."¹

Regarding the profit for biblical studies of an examination of all the Near Eastern evidence, W. F. Albright makes the following statement: "Together with the still inadequately published Hurrian mythological literature (mostly preserved in Hittite translation in the archives of Boghazkeui), Sumerian and Ugaritic mythology will round out the picture hitherto only imperfectly known from Accadian and scattered sources, and make it possible for the historian of literature and religion to begin serious work in a field which has remained hitherto little cultivated. The biblical scholar will probably be the greatest ultimate gainer, since the Bible strikes root into every ancient Near Eastern culture, and it cannot be historically understood until we can see its relationship to its sources in true perspective. The recovery of Sumerian mythology will also throw much light on Accadian, Hurrian and Hittite, Canaanite and Aramaean literature, all of which stem in large part from Sumerian roots."²

The problems which will be discussed in the following are connected mainly with the "New Year festival", which has in respect of its fundamental structure been fairly similar over the whole of the Near Eastern area.³ It would of course be tempting

¹ *Ibid.*

² Albright, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* 64/1944, p. 148.

³ That the New Year festival was also celebrated in the Old Testament religion is thus no longer an unproved hypothesis, but an established fact; cf. Nyberg, Smärtornas man (*Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 7/1942, pp. 5—82), pp. 67 f.: "It is furthermore, after Mowinckel's pioneering investigations, beyond all doubt that a Yahweh's New Year and enthronization festival was celebrated during the royal period in Jerusalem." Our knowledge of its ritual has been considerably increased since the publication of Mowinckel's *Psalmstudien*. One need not go so far as to say that the New Year festival in Jerusalem was "formed after a foreign pattern" (Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 68), but it was of course in essential agreement with the Canaanite New Year festival, which in its turn naturally contained essentially the same elements as the Mesopotamian festival. *Inter alia*, the fight against the enemy and creation play the same central rôle. The story of the creation in Gen. is a revised form of the old cultic version of creation. Brongers, *De Scheppingstradities bij de Profeten* (1945), pp. 6 ff., 143, is of course quite right in asserting that Gen. 1:1—2:3 is a continuous tradition, and not deriving from different literary sources. Note also *ib.* p. 18:

in this connection to give a detailed summary of the research that has been carried out on this point. Since, however, Riesenfeld has given such a summary in his *Jésus transfiguré*, Uppsala 1947, I may content myself with certain general features which are of importance for my argument in the following, the more so as it is my intention to keep this paper within a restricted scope.

The New Year festival, as it was celebrated among the East Semites, is now well known, since large parts of its ritual have been reconstructed. It may here suffice to refer to Thureau-Dangin's important edition of relevant texts in *Rituel accadiens*. Moreover, the problems connected with the New Year's festival have been treated in a great number of works, of which Engnell mentions the most important.¹ One of the most significant details in modern research refers to the king's rôle as a representative of the divinity in the ritual. This theme has been treated in detail by Labat, and Engnell has made an important contribution; and further interesting results are to be looked forward to in Widengren's work *King and Saviour*, which may be expected to be published in the near future.

The character of the New Year festival is explained by the central rôle played by the recitation of the epic of creation, *Enūma eliš*. According to the version which we possess, this first describes the state of chaos which prevailed before the gods existed, and before cosmos had been ordered into a whole bounded by law. After this there is a description of the creation of the gods and the arising of conflict between them and the power of chaos, *Ti'amat*. It is Marduk, the sun-god or the young god, who is commissioned to crush the enemy and introduce order into cosmos. This occurrence is thus symbolized afresh in every New Year festival. The features in the view of Marduk which are of importance are the victory over the power of chaos and the ordering of cosmos, *i. e.* creation, and, according to commentary texts, he is clearly a dying and rising god. He

'De meening dat in Gen. I₁—II₃ over een *creatio ex nihilo* gesproken zou worden moet als onjuist worden afgewezen.

Gods scheppingswerkzaamheid zooals deze in Gen. I₁—II₃ beschreven wordt kan met het begrip 'ordening' het best worden gekarakteriseerd." What a correct statement!

¹ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (1943), pp. 201 f.

is thus quite evidently a god of the type that according to current terminology is referred to as dying and rising, as is generally admitted. The New Year's festival in which Marduk, Babylon's city-god, is glorified as the conqueror of the enemies and the creator of the world was celebrated in the month of Nisan.¹ A divinity closely related to Marduk is Tammuz, over whose death lamentations were held in the month which bears his name,² thus at midsummer. A large number of texts contain liturgies describing the enemies' forcing of an entry into the temple, the carrying off of the god, lamentation in manifold variations, Ishtar's seeking for the dead god, her journey to the underworld to bring back the god, and finally the latter's return to life in triumph, acclaimed by the cult-congregation.³

In West-Semitic religion, as is known, we find divinities of the same type, e. g. 'Alījān Ba'lu in the Ugaritic texts, and it seems, moreover, to be beyond doubt that during certain periods of Old Testament religious history Yahweh belonged to this type. Widengren will publish much material in this connection in his coming work *King and Saviour*; and in the following I hope to be able to some extent to throw light upon this problem.⁴ Through the syncretistic process whose result is seen in the Old Testament as it has been handed down to us, however, the problems are here more complicated, as will emerge from what will be said about this matter in the following.⁵

¹ See e. g. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel accadien* (1921), pp. 129 ff. At Uruk one *akitu* festival was celebrated in Tišrit (*ib.* pp. 86 ff.) and one in Nisan (*ib.*, pp. 99 ff.).

² Cf. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (1931), p. 49.

³ See Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10/1935, pp. VI ff.

⁴ Cf. my *Studies in the Book of Nahum* (*Upps. Univ. Årsskr.* 1946:7), e. g. pp. 153 f.

⁵ Recent scholars have set forth the view that we have to reckon with a rather important censorship in several phases of O. T. tradition, e. g. Oesterley-Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, p. 173 *et passim*; Hvidberg, *Graad og Løst i det Gamle Testamente* (1938), p. 118. This may hold good, even if the O. T. texts were written down at an early stage of the history of their tradition. For this problem, see most recently G. Widengren, *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets* (1948). In my dissertation, *Associations of Cult Prophets...*, p. 156, I referred to the possibility of oracles being written down at the time when they were uttered.

As has long since been observed, this type of religion is very closely connected with the changes of the seasons, *i. e.* with the yearly dying and re-awakening to life of vegetation. This has been explained by e. g. Wensinck in a very interesting way in his essay *The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology*.¹ Referring to Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning*, Wensinck begins with the statement that "a year, as we understand it, does not exist in the first stage of time reckoning," but "the first dividing up of time ... was based upon personal needs and mode of life, on the one hand, and the periodic amenity of nature on the other."² Wensinck therefore uses the terms New Year, New Year Festival and New Year rites in a more comprehensive sense than is commonly the case.³ This is correctly applied to Semitic conditions for, as has been stressed, more than one "New Year Festival" was celebrated both in ancient Mesopotamia and by the Western Semites.⁴ Further, as has already been mentioned, the Tammuz lamentations were held in the month of Tammuz. Consequently, the "New Year" rites were performed on several occasions in the course of the year.⁵ This was naturally because the ideas reflected in these rites were originally connected with the periods of vegetation and agricultural life, as well as with those of Nature in general.⁶ That is, the performance of the rites is a guarantee for the right order of the whole cosmos, which is again established at every New Year festival, in the course of which the creation of the world was repeated ideologically, which, as was believed, brought prosperity to the land and its inhabitants. Then, when the eschatological idea began to come into prominence, this took the form of a projection of the ritual performances at the

¹ *Acta Orientalia* 1/1923, pp. 158—199.

² *Ib.*, p. 158. On the other hand, a more fixed conception of the year seems to have existed in the Near East as far back as our sources reach. See Pedersen's interesting analysis in *Israel* 1, pp. 487 ff., 545.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Concerning Mesopotamian conditions see e. g. Jean, *La religion sumérienne* (1931), pp. 168 ff.; Gadd, *Myth and Ritual* (1933), pp. 46 ff., Engnell, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁵ This seems to hold true also in the case of ancient Egyptian religion, where New Year festival motifs occur in the daily ritual; see e. g. A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte* (1902).

⁶ Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff.

New Year festival.¹ This being so, it is rather natural that the rites in question, with relevant variations, should be performed perhaps four times a year, since the seasons were four in number.²

In the following I shall dwell particularly on the idea of fertility in the New Year rites; and to take one detail, I have chosen the Sumerian notion of *edin*, generally taken to mean 'steppe', 'desert',³ with its Accadian and West-Semitic equivalents and therewith connected problems. Among the West-Semitic expressions relevant from our point of view we have in Ugaritic *mḏbr*, and in Hebrew *midbār*, *ṣēḥiḥā*, *îṣīmōn*, etc. We shall in the following thus try to show something of the rôle played by the concept of 'the desert' in the New Year rites, taking them in the more general sense suggested by Wensinck.⁴

Since I hope to be able to show that, in certain phases of the ritual, the desert is conceived of as the dwelling place of hostile powers, I am glad to stress at the outset that, in my opinion, Pedersen has made a very important point concerning the Old Testament conception of the desert. According to him, the desert is in the Old Testament understood as the opposite of the cultivated earth, the land of mankind.⁵ The desert is the evil place where good plants do not grow — it is the terrible country. It is from there that the raging, all-destroying storm comes (Jer. 4: 11), not the mild breezes bringing rain and fertility.⁶ There are no travellers in the desert, only animals that live remote from the dwellings of man — wild asses, jackals, ostriches, owls, and ravens.⁷ This is also why the desert is the land of damnation.⁸ On the other hand, also the ocean is understood as the enemy power: "He who is in Sheol is also in the ocean, because

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 166 ff.

² Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 158 n. 2, quotes the Tannaim, who say that "there is more than one New Year: one in the spring, one in the autumn, and two more besides" (*Rosh Hashshana* I, 1). Is this only a late tradition, or does it reflect ancient conditions?

³ Tallqvist, *Studia Orientalia* 5: 4/1934, p. 17.

⁴ This view was implied also in my discussion in *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, as is, I think, apparent enough. It may be as well to stress this here for the sake of clearness.

⁵ Pedersen, *Israel. Its Life and Culture* I—II (1926), pp. 454 f.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 455. ⁷ *Ib.* ⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 456 ff.

they both denote the subterraneous, negative power, the world of death and chaos."¹ Both the desert and the ocean are thus hostile powers, parallel with 'the grave', or 'the Nether World'. This argument of Pedersen's deserves attention as being of great importance to the understanding of many features in Old Testament religion,² and, not only this, but also Near Eastern religion in general. To show that exactly the same conception is met with in Mesopotamian texts, it suffices to refer to some of the examples collected by Tallqvist in *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt*.³ On p. 12 Tallqvist quotes a prayer to Tammuz in which *edin* \neq *šēru*, 'steppe', 'desert', is used in parallelism with *šaplāti* and the Hubur river (cf. *ib.*, p. 17). Tallqvist also mentions *edin*/*šēru* as a denotation of the Nether World in Tammuz liturgies, e. g. in the text dealt with by Witzel, *Orientalia* N. S. 2, pp. 230 ff. (= Radau, *Babylonian Expedition* 30, Pl. 1). Here, the *edin* is the place whither Tammuz has gone. Another example referred to by Tallqvist is Zimmern, *Tamuzlieder*, p. 231 (= *Cuneiform Texts* 15:19), where we meet with the expressions *Gēstinan-na-gē edin*, 'Gēstinanna's steppe', and *edin a-ra-li* 'Arallū's steppe'. Since Arallū is a name of the Nether World, *edin* is clearly a denotation of this here.⁴ There are numerous instances in the texts transliterated and translated by Witzel in *Analecta Orientalia* 10, and we shall have an opportunity of examining some of this material in the sequel. It is clear from what has been said that the concept of the desert is closely connected in Sumero-Accadian and in Hebrew, especially so far as the idea of the Nether World is concerned.

As for the reason why this terminology was used, Tallqvist

¹ *Ib.*, p. 463. Cf. Wensinck, The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites (*Verh. d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch., te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterk. N. R.* 19:2/1918), pp. 41, 53, where the parallelism between the desert and the ocean is maintained.

² It is hard to see why Hölcher, in his review of Pedersen's work (*Scensk exeget. årsb.* 2/1937, p. 84; for a German version see *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* 108/1937-38, pp. 234 ff.), calls in question Pedersen's excellent analysis. Hölcher, who clings to his evolutionistic schedules, has only been able to demonstrate his own misunderstanding of Pedersen's intentions. This is especially well exemplified in Hölcher's comments on Pedersen's objections to literary criticism, *ib.*, pp. 90 ff.

³ *Studia Orientalia* 5:4/1934.

⁴ Cf. Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

says: "Die Ursache dieses metonymischen Ausdruckes Steppe = Totenwelt ist mutmaßlich, daß die Steppe, die gleich ausserhalb der Stadtmauern begann, wo die Toten beerdigt wurden, als ein unreiner Ort — daher euphemistisch *ašru ellu*, 'der reine Ort', genannt — und wie die Unterwelt als ein Aufenthalt von bösen Geistern und Dämonen betrachtet wurde."¹ Tallqvist further refers to the Babylonian conception of the Nether World as situated in the west, so that the descent into the Nether World might be described as a desert-journey westwards.²

Now it is significant to note that there are several Sumerian and Accadian expressions originally meaning 'ruin' or the like, which are used as designations of the Nether World: e. g. *ki-a-ri-a*, as Tallqvist suggests, to be rendered approximately with an Accadian *ašar ħurbati*, 'a waste place', or *namūti*, 'desert', where Ishtar intends to seek the dead Tammuz and whither the evil spirits are exhorted to disappear.³ Other expressions are *bitu nadū*, 'a decayed house', *ħarbu*, 'ruin'.⁴ Of course, such terms as *ki/eršetu*, *kur/šadū* are commonly used as denotations of the Nether World as well as West-Semitic equivalents. Of this we shall see examples below.

In the present inquiry, much evidence will be quoted from ritual texts. But it is well known that there are a number of texts of which it is very hard to decide whether they were used liturgically, even though they may contain many ritual motifs. There are also examples of 'historical' texts, legends, etc. that are based upon ritual motifs. This is due to the fact that in the Near Eastern view the historical and religious aspects cannot be separated. This being so, historical facts are often described in exactly the same categories as the mythical-ritual sphere; the political enemies are 'identical' with the cultic enemies, and are described in the same way, etc. Thus, if ritual motifs in a text with a more historical bearing are discussed, the historicity of the text in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 21, with a reference to *Cuneiform Texts* 16, 1, 23 ff. (n. 8). "Auch den Juden galt bekanntlich die Wüste als Stätte der Dämonen, vgl. Jeremias, *ATLAO*³ 379 Anm. 5" (*ib.*).

² Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 f., with a reference to *KAR* 267 Rev. = King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, 53. On the other hand, Dilmun, the land of paradise, is situated in the region of the rising sun.

³ Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 23.

question is not at all affected by the discussion; but we have instances in which historical texts may supplement our knowledge of ritual details, sometimes in questions of interpretation. On the other hand, ritual texts are often an indispensable aid in connection with the interpreting of historical texts. This remark is intended to obviate a possible misunderstanding. Thus, if in the following I speak of ritual motifs in a certain text, this does not imply any pronouncement concerning the use of this motif in the particular case, unless it is expressly stated.

I.

As I have already mentioned, a common designation for 'desert' in Sumerian is *edin*, the rôle of which I shall first try to elucidate. The *edin*, 'the steppe' = 'the Nether World', is mentioned in certain parts of the ritual texts as the abode of the hostile powers. But at the very beginning of the ritual drama, we meet with *edin* in another significance, since the enemies are obviously not in the *edin* mentioned here. On the contrary, before their incursion into it, it is described as a beautiful place, adorned with greenery. But, then, this state is interrupted by the forcible entry of 'demons' into the *garza* (the precincts of the oracle), which is identical with *edin*:

.....	<i>bar</i> (?)	"Against.....
<i>a-lal-la m[u</i> (?)-		the demons,
<i>garza ab-sin zi</i> (<i>d</i>) <i>lal</i>		into the oracle with holy greenery
		surrounded,
<i>edin-na na-a-.....</i>		into the <i>edin</i> [they entered]." ¹

This description of the entrance of the enemies, here said to be demons, is continued in the following lines: They force an entry into the sanctuary, the place of the 'people', the 'place of life', and assault, besides the Anunnaki, also Sin (l. 6), who is here approximately 'identical' with Tammuz.² Further, we hear that

¹ Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, p. 100 ll. 3 ff.

² As Witzel remarks, it is noteworthy that Nippur is addressed (l. 9), though Sin is the god carried off (*op. cit.* p. 99). The fact that Sin appears in this rôle also suggests a close connection between the moon and the king. This connection between Sin and the king is clearly met with on Mesopotamian soil; for examples see Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 42 n. 3.

the god, "the horned one", is torn down from the sacred place (l. 7), that the temple is plundered and that the 'bronze' gate is overthrown by the superior forces (ll. 10 f.), "then was thy protection, the young bull of *edin*, Sin, destroyed" (l. 11). In this connection it is also stated that the cow (= Ishtar) is destroyed and her place ruined (Rev. ll. 2 f.), and the god, the strong one, is annihilated by the storm (ll. 5 ff.). As Witzel assumes, this text must constitute a description of how the enemies force their way into the *edin* and carry off the god, here called Sin. Since the temple and the god are destroyed, the people lament, and as Witzel states, the lamentation (= 'word') of Tammuz is also referred to (Obv. l. 10). Consequently, Witzel is obviously right in maintaining that this text is a fragment of a 'Tammuz-liturg'.¹ This being so, this text may be suitable as a point of departure, since we have here the *edin* precisely in the rôle characteristic of the 'Tammuz' cult. It describes the way in which the place of the oracle, the verdant *edin*, is ravaged by the invading demons, who carry off the god (the young bull); and also the goddess (the cow) is annihilated. This destruction is further said to be produced by the storm, and the destruction also overtakes 'the people' of the god, here represented by the Anunnaki.²

An extraordinarily interesting text is to be found in Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, No. 12 = Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 29 (pp. 277 ff.).³ On the obverse the text contains a lamentation over the 'word', which destroys the temples. The reverse describes the triumph of Tammuz (after a lacuna).⁴ As a noteworthy detail Witzel points out the fact that the lamented 'Tammuz' is 'identified' with Nabû.⁵ The text begins with a lamentation about the way the god himself, who supplies the land with food, destroys the mountains, the way his word makes the heavens tremble and the earth quake (Obv. ll. 1 ff.). It is thus the god himself who through his 'word' destroys the land, in which connection it is of importance to note that the 'word' is said

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

² L. 6.

³ Another fragment, a duplicate of this text, has been published by Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. 158 (Pl. 50), translit. and transl. pp. 65 ff.

⁴ Cf. Witzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 277, 280 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 277.

to overflow the wide land (Obv. ll. 16 f.)¹ and to be fighting against the people. Further, when the destroying 'word' enters the *edin* (the Accadian translation has *šēram*), the *edin* (Accadian: *tarbaša*) is turned into chaff. The people are overpowered by it, the young women are thrown to the ground on the roads of *edin*, the cattle it leaves prostrate (ll. 18 ff.). In the continuation of the text (Rev. ll. 6—9) we read:

<i>ina lib-bi-ia a-na-lu</i>	"In my heart I am calmed,
<i>ina lib-bi-ia a-ma-[li-i]</i>	in my heart I am satisfied,
<i>ina ni-ku-ma-lam lib-bi-ia</i>	of the people against whom my heart
<i>man-ma-an ul [ūši]</i> ²	is set, none has escaped."

After this there is a repetition in a number of lines of how the 'strong one' has destroyed the *māt nukurti*, the land of the enemy; and it is significant that in this part of the text we read of Nabū, Esagila's son (Rev. ll. 13 ff.), the Lord of the walls of Ezida, the son who revenges his father. In this capacity he is *dumu-zi(d)*, the faithful son', who is bewailed (Rev. l. 18). In the following lines he is praised as the exuberance of the land, the lord of 'the opening of the mouth' (oracle-giver?),³ and as the one whose word is exultation. In Rev. ll. 22 ff., as Witzel states, the goddess is obviously speaking. She praises him as

<i>be-lí a-bu-bu te-bu-ú</i>	"My Lord, the advancing flood,
<i>ša meš-re-e-ti dam-ka</i>	who is good to my members."

Finally, there is an allusion to the god's return to the temple, which was probably described in the rest of the text, which is unfortunately broken off. To summarize: In this text we meet with Nabū,⁵ 'the faithful son', who with his 'word' destroys the mountains, causes the heavens and the earth to quiver, turns the *edin* into chaff, throws the people down, leaves the cattle prostrate,

¹ For other instances of the 'word' being equated with the flood see Haldar, *Studies in the Book of Nahum* (*Upps. Univ. Årsskr.* 1946:7), p. 106 f.

² The Sumerian text has *nu-è-a*, whence the meaning is clear.

³ Cf. Rev. l. 17: 'seer of Borsippa', which also suggests the oracular capacity.

⁴ Cf. Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 283: "Das Wohltun geschieht durch das Vorgehen gegen die Feinde." But this phrase is probably to be taken as an allusion to fertilization; cf. the relevant passages in Kramer, Enki and Ninhursag (*Bull. Amer. Schools Or. Res. Suppl. Stud.* 1).

⁵ On Nabū ≠ Tammuz see Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 37.

etc. It is a remarkable fact that *edin* in this passage is rendered with *tarbašu* in the Accadian translation. Consequently, *edin* is here associated with the cultivated land. But all that exists thereon is conceived of almost as hostile to the god,¹ and of the people none escapes; so the god's heart is satisfied. In this text the change of the *edin* is alluded to, since it is stated that it is turned into chaff, an apt metaphor as a description of a desert-place.

On the basis of other texts we are able to state why this change takes place. For we must once more expressly stress that the *edin* is not in itself hostile to Tammuz, which is clear from the fact that there are passages in which Ishtar calls him *lu-edin-na-ge*, 'steppe-man', parallel with *lu-ka-ba-ra-ge*, 'oracle-giver'. These expressions are found e. g. in *CT* 15:19, which is included in *Tamūzliedern* (No. 6) and which, further, has been transliterated and translated by Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, pp. 317 ff.² As Witzel points out, the subject of the poem is the question of the goddess about the vanished Tammuz and the reply given by the oracle. Witzel also stresses the fact that, according to this text, the real oracle-giver is Tammuz himself, so that the question must be asked at Tammuz' oracle. The end of the text contains a lamentation over Tammuz, now shut up in the Nether World. There are some substantial details which must be touched upon. In the first 13 lines it is stated in various phrases that the god delights his temple no longer. Then follows the question of the goddess: "What has been done with him?" Ishtar is answered that "the young Lord of wisdom, the young bull in his strength", is in the house of the plunderers, in the house of enclosure. He is overpowered by the storm. The goddess then breaks out into the lamentation:

¹ On the other hand, he is praised as the richness of the land, etc., Rev. 1. 19.

² Cf. Zimmern, *Tamūzlieder* Nos. 1 and 2 = *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 20, where we find a description of the attack of the enemies on the ewe and her lamb, in which connection Tammuz says that he, the Hero, goes the way from which there is no return (*uruḫ lā tāri*, l. 11). In Zimmern, No. 2, there seems to be a mention of the enemies from the *edin* being encamped against Tammuz and their attack on him (ll. 1 ff.). In l. 14 we read about the way of pain, the way of the chariot (*urḫi šum-ru-ši u-ru-uh nar-kab-tim*).

...*edin-na sag-gá-gá lîl* "In the steppe overpowered by the storm,
edin nigin edin nigin in the steppe enclosed, in the steppe en-
šeš-mu edin nigin closed, my brother, in the steppe en-
 closed!
edin a-ra-li edin nigin In the steppe of the Nether World, in
šeš-mu edin nigin the steppe enclosed, my brother, in
 the steppe enclosed."¹

As is seen, we have here *edin*, or *edin a-ra-li*, parallel with *é-ga-a-ka*, 'house of the plunderers', and *é-nigin-na-ka*, 'house of the enclosure'. Consequently, *edin* is here a designation of the Nether World, the abode of the enemies, whither the god has been carried off and where he is held captive. Now from other texts it is clear that it is in this phase of the ritual that his 'word' brings ruin. In his introductory notes to Reisner, *Hymnen* No. 18 (etc.),² Witzel says about this: "früher war er der grosse Gott und Held, jetzt richtet er durch sein 'Wort' nur Unheil an."³ The first part of the text contains a lamentation of the hero, whose figure cannot be recognized. The continuation of the text, according to Witzel, is preserved in IV R 30.1,⁴ where we have a description of 'Tammuz' destruction of the enemies:

<i>kar-ra-du ana mât nu-kur-tim</i>	"O Hero, when thou enterest the
<i>ina a-la-ki-ka</i>	land of the enemy,
— — — — —	
<i>mi-na-a ina na-aḫ-bi</i>	What in the abyss,
<i>mi-na-a ša la tak-šu-da</i>	what that thou didst not conquer?
<i>mi-na-a ša ta-a-am-tum</i>	What in the sea,
<i>erṣeta u-ma-al-lu-kum</i>	in the earth, can be equal to thee?" ⁵

Some lines further on, the effect of the cry of Tammuz is described: the people are thrown down (ll. 42 ff.), and in another fragment,

¹ Ll. 27 ff. The lamentation is continued in the two following lines.

² Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 10 (pp. 133 ff.).

³ *Ib.*, p. 133.

⁴ Regarding the restoration of the text, see Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 133, with references to publications in which supplementary fragments are published. Witzel says: "Über die Reihenfolge, in der die Texte zu verbinden sind, vergleiche man unten den Text selber" (p. 133). Undoubtedly, Witzel's arrangement of the texts is correct.

⁵ Ll. 9, 13, 16. (Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 136.)

published by Langdon in *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* 37, p. 68, Witzel has correctly found the continuation: the store-houses of the country are filled with filth. The goddess looks at the prostrate god, whereby she laments over the destruction; and then Reisner, *Hymnen* No. 18 has the continuation:

<i>eš-re-ti-šú-nu ina šub-ti-šú-nu tu-</i>	"Their sanctuaries in their 'abode'
<i>sa[p-pi-ih]</i>	thou hast destroyed,
<i>i-šit-ti ana har-ra-an taš-ku[n]</i>	the store-houses to a road thou
	hast made,
<i>be-el-ku ina na-si-ka-ti a-šá-ap</i>	I, the Lady, wander among the
	'bedouin sheikhs'."

Then it is stated that this lamentation by the goddess wakes the god. From this we are justified in concluding that it is during Tammuz' sojourn in the Nether World that his 'word' causes destruction. This is naturally a consequence of the fact that, when the god has been taken down to the Nether World, the state of chaos supervenes, *i. e.* the enemies enter into the *edin*, which is turned into a desert by the hurricane, and then also the abode of man, people and cattle become the objects of Tammuz' destruction, in point of fact, they become his enemies. Further, it is of importance to state that Ishtar, too, is to be reckoned among the enemies of Tammuz. In the text quoted this is apparent from the fact that she laments over her situation when she is wandering among the 'bedouin sheikhs', as Witzel aptly translates.² The hordes from the 'desert' are of course the enemies *par excellence*, and so this passage is in good agreement with other texts with a similar significance. In a very interesting item,³ Ishtar gives an account of the attack on the temple and her flight from it. From ll. 11 ff. it is apparent that the destruction is caused by the 'word': when it enters the temple, the hordes of the Nether World follow. The enemy enters the temple and tries to catch

¹ Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 18 Rev. ll. 9, 11, 13; see Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 138. There are of course other texts with still more extended lamentations.

² Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon* 3: 2 gives the same meaning of the word.

³ Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, Pl. 27 f. = Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 48 (pp. 374 ff.). For the arrangement of the text see Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 374. An Accadian translation of a part of the text is preserved in K 41, published by Pinches, *Proceed. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.* 1895, pp. 64 ff.

the goddess; she succeeds in escaping, however, with the loss of her garment and her lapis-lazuli.¹ In ll. 38 ff., she compares herself to a timid dove and a *sudinnu*-bird, flying into a loophole. When those in her temple call to her she replies: Woe, my temple! Thou art not my temple! . . . Woe, my apartment! thou art not my apartment! . . ." Her people reproach her, adding that she has dishonoured herself by giving herself to the enemy (ll. 48 ff.). The goddess replies that she has not done this herself, but that her son has dishonoured her.² In this case, as in the text quoted above, the result is that Ishtar is associated with the enemies of Tammuz, *i. e.* the god himself is the enemy of the goddess. This can also be expressed in such a way as to say that Ishtar comes to Tammuz in a judicial matter, and has to offer prayers of expiation.³

This enmity between Ishtar and Tammuz, who in many passages is said to be Ishtar's son or beloved, is rather natural, and may probably be explained in the following way. As is apparent from what has been said, Tammuz, during his sojourn in the Nether World, is hostile to his own people, his temple, the pasturage of the cattle, *i. e.* *edin/šēru*.⁴ Now Ishtar represents just this domain. In a text quoted above, *Analecta Orientalia* 10 No. 48,⁵ Ishtar is titled *lil-la-en-na*, who is said to be the Lady of the folds and stables (*gašan tūr-amaš-a-ge*,⁶ which in Accadian would run *Bēlīt tarbaši u supuri*). As we saw above, *tarbašu* is also the equivalent of *edin*, whence we may assume that *tūr* has approximately the same significance in the present case. As is well known, *Bēlīt šēri* is a common name of the goddess.⁷ Further, the use of the *ilu* determinative in this divine name is of great concern. As a matter of fact, we find various writings: *bē-lat še-e-ri*, *be-lit šēri*

¹ Ll. 28 ff.

² Ll. 52 ff.; Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

³ *Ib.*, p. 328 ll. 16 ff. As Witzel points out, the text (*Babyl. Lit.*, Pl. 46) contains the prayer of expiation which Ishtar has to say in front of Tammuz in order to appease his heart.

⁴ That *edin* has this significance is apparent from the fact that it is sometimes rendered with *tarbašu*, cf. *sup.* p. 13.

⁵ Cf. the preceding page.

⁶ Obv. l. 63; cf. l. 8.

⁷ See e. g. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschr. u. d. A. T.*³ (1903), pp. 570, 637; Frank, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (1909), p. 168.

(*edin*), and *be-lit* ¹*šēri*.¹ Thus, in the last instance *šēru/edin* is preceded by the *ilu*-determinative, indicating that this notion is conceived of as being of divine character. This is also the case in a passage from the Epic of Ir-ra, VAT 9162 = KAR IV, 168, col. I ll. 39 ff.,² where we find *šēru* with the *ilu*-determinative: *bu-ul* ³*šēri*, 'the cattle of the Field'.³ Consequently, *edin/šēru* is divine, and we may probably assume that the goddess represents the *edin*, and in the same way we may assume that *edin* can be taken to be the more concrete form of the goddess.⁴ In the present phase of the ritual both are in any case hostile to Tammuz. We shall see that West-Semitic conceptions are very similar.

There are of course many passages describing the conditions resulting from Tammuz' being in the Nether World. We shall not give an exhaustive account of these here; my intention is only to stress some details of importance to the sequel. We may perhaps also mention the fact that during the sojourn of Tammuz in the Nether World, he takes no pleasure in songs of joy and songs of jubilation; he does not cease to utter cries of woe, and lamentations are to be made in Ekur.⁵

As has already been stated, the destruction caused during Tammuz' sojourn in the Nether World is in a number of cases asserted to be a consequence of the effect of the 'word', which is very often compared to a raging wind, or an overflowing flood. In this connection it may perhaps be relevant to refer to an noteworthy passage showing the destructive effect of the divine 'word', the god here being called Enlil. The text, Reisner, *Hymnen*, Nos. 1—3 (4) = Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 28, is, as Witzel points out, no real Tammuz liturgy, but it is probably a list of passages containing lamentations by the goddess over the 'word'.⁶ In the first section of the text a number of divine names are mentioned, Gula, Mullil, Asarluhi, etc.⁷ In ll. 100 ff., the 'word'

¹ Tallqvist, *Studia Orientalia* 5:4, p. 19. Cf. Schroeder, *Orient. Litzeit.*, 18/1915, col. 266.

² Translit. and transl. by Ebeling, *Berliner Beitr. z. Keilschrift.* 2: 1/1925, pp. 2 ff.

³ Cf. my *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 155.

⁴ This suggests that the goddess also has a rather clear chthonic character.

⁵ Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 14 = Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 13 A ll. 18 ff.

⁶ Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁷ L. 111.

(of Enlil) is said to be a storm that destroys the 'stable' (*tūr/tar-baša*) and the 'fold' (*amaš/supurī*), that fells the wood, that causes the Anunnakis to abandon the temples, and locusts to plunder the grove of the goddess, but

be-el matāti ki-ma a-we-lu- "Unto (thee) the Lord of the countries
*-ti la as to mankind it will not"*¹

The same idea that destruction will not come upon Enlil is varied in the following lines.

With this passage we may compare another that also deals with the destroying 'word', and in which it is said that when a number of divinities cry out at sunset, the dreadful word goes forth.¹ Since the state of death and destruction is caused by the word, it is rather natural that this should take place at sunset, since, as we have seen, the west is the place where the domain of death is situated. Thus the night, when darkness and cold prevail, is the time of chaos. Since we have a number of instances showing that darkness and cold are characteristic of the state of chaos, we may conclude from the text quoted that the destroying word, or storm, goes forth at sunset. At that hour of the day we must thus assume that the raging storm blows in over the country, bringing with it locusts and other accompaniments of the desert wind, whereby the country itself is laid waste and becomes a desert.² During this phase of the ritual Tammuz is in the *edin a-ra-li*, whereas the *edin* = *tarbašu* is turned into desert land and becomes the dwelling-place of the enemies coming from the desert, the Nether World.³

In a text quoted above, it is expressly stated that Tammuz is waked by the lamentation of Ishtar. Then he returns to his temple again and the restoration comes. Then, after the victory of Tammuz, *edin* once more ceases to be the refuge for the enemy

¹ Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 27 ff.

² For instances of this phenomenon in West-Semitic religion see below pp. 24, 37, etc. For a vivid description from Mesopotamia in Christian times see Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, Ch. XXXVIII.

³ Cf. Pedersen's account of the O.T. conception of the desert quoted *sup.*, p. 9. In agreement with this is also the fact that Mullil is compared to an 'arab-bird' when he sends his voice over the land (*Anal. Orient.* 10, p. 358). There are of course other texts that might be quoted. Note l. 6, where Mullil is said to found everything when he speaks his word.

and becomes again the pasturage of the cattle. As I have shown in another place, the god's fight with the enemy at the same time becomes that which gives the land fertility. We have seen that there are significant details showing the enmity between Tammuz and Ishtar, the latter being described now as the mother of Tammuz, now as his sister or his beloved. Here, then, we have in a certain degree a parallel to Marduk's fight against Ti'amat, the primeval ocean, who is the mother of all the gods but is killed, and in this way gives rise to cosmos. The parallel becomes more marked from the fact that the water is associated with the hostile powers that Tammuz conquers.¹ The dénouement of the drama is that Ishtar comes to Tammuz over the sea, bringing with her manifold gifts. She comes with much verdure, and the *edin* is then adorned once more with trees.² This symbolizes the return of life and vegetation. It is in this connection remarkable that the god is conceived as catching *im-dugud*, the bird, and that this seems to be a condition of his return to life. This is the case in an interesting text, in which Ninurta-Ningirsu, who is a god of the same character as Tammuz,³ is celebrated in song as the victor, and is exhorted to rise, which is to say, to return to the temple and to life. We read here:

<i>e/n(?)</i> ^a <i>Nin-gir-su dumu</i> ^a <i>En-lil-</i>	"Ruler, Ningirsu, Enlil's son, Lord,
<i>lā en-e</i>	up, rise up!
<i>ur-sag-gal dug₄-ga-ni ka-zal-en:</i>	Great hero, whose command (is)
<i>šā ki-bit-su mut-ši-la-at:e</i>	jubilation, Lord, up, rise up!
<i>igi an-gal-e-ka an-du₈ kalag en:</i>	Before the great Anu show thy-
	self as a hero,
^u <i>A-nu rabu-ú li-mur-ka:e</i>	Lord, up, rise up!
<i>mušen</i> ^a <i>im-dugud</i> ^{bu} <i>im-ma-ni-in-</i>	The bird Imdugud (<i>Zū</i>) hast thou
<i>dīb-</i>	caught, Lord,
<i>bi en-: ka-mi iš-šu-ri</i> ^u <i>Zi-i:e</i>	up, rise up!" ⁴

¹ Cf. e. g. *sup.*, p. 16.

² Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, p. 426 ll. 15 ff.

³ See most recently Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 22 n. 8 with references.

⁴ Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 18 (etc.); cf. Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, p. 140 Obv. ll. 23 ff. On this text see above pp. 15 ff. In *Anal. Orient.* 15, No. 5, ll. 10 ff. we find an allusion to the sun-god catching the bird. On Ninurta, see Witzel, *Orientalia* N.S. 2/1933, pp. 26 ff. The bird figure occurs also, as is well known, in the Gudea texts, *passim*.

In the following lines the god is exhorted to place all his enemies on his 'fundament', for before him is the joyful feast. The god replies with an exhortation to heal all that is smashed for him: "heal the ban, which binds me." We then have a description of how the god rises higher and higher, indeed, he already approaches the temple. It is then that the life-giving rain begins to fall, the god 'rains' down over the enemy; like a storm he pours down over them while the faithful spouse, Ishtar, is led to her place. The particular point here is that this scene follows a scene in which Ishtar complains that the sanctuaries are destroyed, the store-rooms have been made into roads, she herself wanders "among the 'bedouin sheikhs'",¹ and the high-born ones among them have adorned themselves with the lapis-lazuli ornaments of the goddess.² The import of the entire context is thus that the pastures and the fields have become a desert, which is to say the enemy has forced his way into the temple. But Ningirsu conquers the desert hosts, whereupon the drought ceases and yields to the fructifying and life-giving rain.³ This text is preserved on a late tablet, but the idea of Ningirsu catching the bird is ancient, as is shown by *Fig. 1*, in which I have reproduced a scene from Eannatum's Stela of Vultures showing Ningirsu holding his club in his right hand and the bird in his left.⁴

Now it may be noticed that, besides *edin*, a couple of other terms are used in exactly the same sense, namely, *ki* \neq *eršetum*, 'the earth',⁵ and *kur*, 'the mountain'.⁶ The import is the same. When *ki*, the tilled earth, the land, is said to be the refuge of the enemy powers, this means that destruction has been wreaked; and similarly, when *kur* is the refuge for the enemy this means that the sacred mountain, which is otherwise the abode of the divinity, has become ruins and the refuge of the enemy.⁷

¹ Cf. *sup.*, p. 17. ² Cf. *ib.*

³ Then, the 'word' represents the god's creating power; for instances see e.g. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttl. Wortes*, pp. 6, 19, et *passim*.

⁴ In the same way, scenes from *Enūma eliš* are represented on monuments at a date from which no copies of the text have been preserved; cf. most recently A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (1942), pp. 4 f. As to Eshnunna, cf. *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 17, pp. 49 f.; Figs. 44—45; *Publications*, Vol. 43, p. 183.

⁵ See Tallqvist, *Studia Orientalia* 5: 4, pp. 8 ff.

⁶ *Ib.*, 23 ff.

⁷ For West Semitic parallels see below, p. 41, etc.



Fig. 1. Reproduced from Sarzec-Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée II*, Pl. 4 bis.¹

I think what has been said permits us to draw some conclusions regarding the rôle of *edin*/*šēru* in Sumero-Accadian religion. As we have seen, we meet with *edin* in more than one sense. At the beginning of the ritual it is a beautiful place adorned with greenery, and is the resting-place of the cattle, and it is accordingly also rendered with *tarbašu* in Accadian.² Then the enemies enter the *edin*, destroying it and carrying off the god to another place, also called *edin*, or *edin a-ra-li*.³ The expressions *an-edin* and *ki-edin* are also found.⁴ Consequently, there are one 'upper' and one 'nether' *edin*. Tammuz then goes to the Nether World, and the *edin* which was at the beginning adorned with

¹ For a reproduction of the restored stela, see e. g. Parrot *Tello* (1948), Pl. VI.

² See *sup.*, pp. 13, 18.

³ A typical instance, besides the texts quoted above, is Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* 10, No. 18 (pp. 218 ff.) = Scheil, *Rev. d'assyriol.* 17, p. 50. The text begins: *edin lûl-lâ*, which would run in Accadian: *šēru iz-zi-ik*, 'the steppe is overcome by the storm'. When Tammuz cries this out, the people in Ishtar's 'city' are attacked. See further e. g. Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴ Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

verdure becomes a desert, where the enemies have their dwelling-place. Then it is also a land of darkness and cold, whereas the sun is shining in the land of the dead:

il-lak i-lak ana i-rat er-se-ti[m] "He goes, he goes into the bosom
of the earth,
"Šamaš ir-ta-bi-šu ana er-se-tim the sun sets for him into the
mi-tu-ti land of the dead."¹

This implies that the order of cosmos is reversed. Then, Ishtar goes to seek for her dead son, or beloved, to bring him rich gifts, which are consecrated in the *edin*² and then brought to Tammuz' dwelling in the *edin* = 'the Nether World'.³ Finally, when Tammuz returns in triumph, the enemies are driven back to their proper domicile, and his *edin* is restored, and becomes once more a place adorned with trees.⁴

On the preceding pages, I have dealt with some features in the conception of the *edin* and its Accadian equivalents. I have mainly quoted texts which are paralleled by an Accadian translation, because the interpretation of some Sumerian texts, which may be of importance for my subject, is disputed. Most of the passages quoted are taken from lamentations over the death of Tammuz. There is, however, at least one very similar text which contains many of the same motifs and concerning which it may be hard to determine its 'setting in life'. This being the case, it has been maintained to be a text connected with a special historical situation. This text is A O 6446, which was published by de Genouillac, *Textes cunéiformes* 16 No. 40. Of this composition there are a number of parallel texts, more or less fragmentary. One of these fragments (Ni. 7080) was published by Langdon, *UPBS* X, 4 Pl. 90—98, who considered it a lamentation on the destruction of Ur in the time of Ibi-Sin, the last king of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur. The whole composition, as far as the text was available to him, was transliterated and translated for the first

¹ *Ib.* p. 230 ll. 23, 25 (= Zimmern, *Tamūzlieder*, No. 1 A = Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 37 Obv.).

² Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 148 III l. 14: *è-e edin-na tur-tur-ni ni-sikil*.

³ Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 84 VI ll. 13 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 426 l. 15 (= Zimmern, *Sum. Kullieder*, No. 199 III, 42 ff.). Cf. the O. T. passages where it is said that the desert will be fertile soil.

time by M. Witzel, *Analecta Orientalia* X, pp. 44 ff. Witzel is of the opinion that the poem is a 'Tammuz Liturgy' of the same kind as the others he included in the publication mentioned. Regarding Langdon's view of the historical situation of this composition, Witzel says: "Dass es sich in der Dichtung nicht um eine historische Zerstörung der Stadt Ur handelt, sondern um die alljährige 'Zerstörung' der 'Tammuz'-Kultstätte und um die Bedrängnis des Volkes, welche durch das Absterben der Natur in der Sommerhitze bedingt ist, ergibt sich aus dem Character des Textes als Tammuz-Liturgie (in Parallele mit so vielen andern); dieser Tammuz-Character unserer Dichtung ist über allen Zweifel erhaben."¹ As to the time of composition, or the date of the copy published by de Genouillac, Witzel quotes the publisher's opinion: the period of Isin.²

Five years later, S. N. Kramer published a new transliteration and translation, based on an excellently restored text including a number of fragments published by him for the first time.³ Regarding the date of its composition, Kramer is of approximately the same opinion as de Genouillac: it "was both composed and inscribed some time during the Isin-Larsa-Babylon I period."⁴ Although Kramer published his work under almost the same title as Langdon used in describing the contents of the poem, he gives no statement as to why the text was composed, or, rather, he admits the difficulty in stating any reason: "At present nothing more definite can be added, however, since we know practically nothing concerning the background of the recitation of the composition. Thus we have no idea of the occasion on which it was recited, although obviously the conclusion may not be unwarranted that it took place on a day set aside to mark the anniversary of the destruction of Ur. Moreover, we can make only more or less obvious guesses in answer to such questions as who did the reciting, who uttered the 'antiphon', and whether the recitation, which was no doubt musically intoned, was accompanied by musical instruments."⁵

¹ *Analecta Orientalia* 10, p. 35. ² *Ib.*

³ S. N. Kramer, Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur (*Assyriological Studies* No. 12/1940).

⁴ *Ib.*, p. VII.

⁵ Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. b.

This text begins with a description of how the god has disappeared and the sheep-fold is delivered to the wind. Ten of the sections of which the liturgy consists contain lamentations over the state caused by the disappearance of the god.¹ In ll. 88 ff., the wind is clearly described as the destructive power, and to judge from l. 111 it is the wind from the *edin*, since the wind is there exhorted to return thither: *KA hu-mu-dub edin-na-u₄-gi₄-a me-e hé-im-ma-na-DI*.² Thus the *edin* is here the place from where the destructive power comes in the same way as we have seen above. In ll. 137 ff.³ we have again a description of how the lord is overcome by the storm and of how the city is destroyed. The goddess does not abandon her city but remains in order to make supplication to Anu and Enlil.⁴ But they have decreed the destruction of the city; so its people are killed.⁵ In the fifth and sixth sections the lamentation is continued. In ll. 174 ff. we get the important information that 'the wind of superabundance' (*u₄-hé-gál-la*), or 'the good wind' (*u₄-dùg*) is carried off from the land, and the god gives his order to 'the evil storm' (*u₄-hul-gál-da*). The bright light sent forth by the day is withheld (ll. 190 f.). The destructive storm makes the land tremble and quake. Hence the people are killed, and their dead bodies are lying in the gates of the city (ll. 211 ff.), and in the places where the festivities of the land took place (l. 216). They perish through hunger (l. 227). The mother leaves her daughter, the father turns away from his son, the wife is abandoned, the child is abandoned, the possessions are scattered about (ll. 233 ff.), an excellent description of the state of chaos. Then the goddess Ningal departs from her city like a flying bird (ll. 237 f.), and, in l. 254, she is said to stand aside in the city like an enemy.

What has been said of the contents of the poem may suffice to show that the notion of the *edin* here is the same as in the texts quoted on the preceding pages. The last section deals with the restoration, and the last line of the poem runs: "O Nanna,

¹ Cf. Witzel, *Orientalia* 14, pp. 188 ff.

² Kramer: "I screamed and cried to it, 'Return, O storm, to the plain'," Witzel: "(Da die Macht des Sturmes sich darüber ergoss,) schrie ich; 'in die Wüste, o Sturm, kehre zurück!' rief ich ihm zu,"

³ The fourth section.

⁴ Ll. 143 ff.

⁵ Ll. 160 ff.

thy city which has been returned to its place exalts thee" (l. 435).¹ If this poem refers to a historical destruction of Ur, it must consequently have been composed after the city had been rebuilt. In this case it would be an excellent example of a text describing historical events in the terms of religious language,² since it cannot be denied that this lamentation is throughout built upon the same motifs as many 'Tammuz Liturgies'. However, it can hardly with certainty be claimed to bear upon a special historical situation, particularly since Kramer stressed the fact that, in this case, it is impossible to know for what reason it was composed. Moreover, its general character seems to indicate that it is to be compared to religious compositions of the type which has been styled 'Tammuz Liturgies'. In fact, as already mentioned, there are many motifs in common between A O 6446 and the liturgies. Another composition of importance in this connection is Inanna's Descent to the Nether World, although it has quite a different character.

This may be exemplified by mentioning some points. The opening section of the lamentation describes, in its 35 lines, how various deities have abandoned their shrines, their sheepfolds having been delivered to the wind. The opening lines of Inanna's Descent are of much the same bearing, for there we are told that the goddess abandons Heaven and Earth; she abandons Lordship and Ladyship; in Unug^{ki} she abandons Eanna; in Badtibira she abandons Emushkalamma; in Zabalam^{ki} she abandons Giguna; in Adab she abandons Esharra; in Nippur she abandons Baratushtarra; in Kish she abandons Hursagkalamma; and in Agade she abandons Eulmash and descends to the Nether World.³

¹ For Kramer's transliteration and translation, see *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

² In my *Studies in the Book of Nahum* I tried to apply this view to a prophetic text of the O. T. Many other scholars have pointed out that mythic (ritual) motifs occur in prophetic texts. As to other groups of texts, e. g. historical ones, many examples could be quoted. In a subsequent publication, however, I shall have the opportunity to deal with some of the relevant material.

³ For a transliteration and translation of an excellently restored text of this composition, see Kramer, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 85/1942, pp. 296 ff. A philological commentary is added. On Inanna's Descent, see also Falkenstein, *Archiv f. Orientf.* 14/1941—44, pp. 113 ff., and Witzel, *Orientalia* N. S. 14/1945, pp. 24 ff.

In the 'lamentation over the destruction of Ur', as mentioned, we meet with a number of deities having abandoned their shrines. However, the goddesses listed are clearly 'Ishtar' figures and the male deities are such as occur as 'Tammuz' figures in the liturgies. Accordingly, whether the various local names are preserved, or Ishtar is written throughout, the difference is very slight. Moreover, some of the names occurring in the lamentation are no real proper names, but general epithets. This is, for instance, the case with Nin-gal, having the meaning 'the Great Lady'; this name cannot be considered but a local variety of Inanna, 'the Lady of Heaven'. The reason why, in Inanna's Descent, this name of the goddess is used throughout may be that, in this composition, the personal fate of the goddess is in the focus, which is not the case in the lamentation, in which a general outlook over a number of shrines is presented: everywhere the sheepfold of the deity has been delivered to the wind.

In section II of the lamentation the various cult places are exhorted to set up a bitter lament. This motif occurs in Inanna's Descent as well, although in a different form: when descending to the Nether World, the goddess orders her messenger to complain for her (ll. 34 ff.). — In section IV of the lamentation, the goddess describes her supplications to Anu and Enlil, that the city might not be destroyed. In Inanna's Descent, the messenger of the goddess is the performer of supplications to Enlil, Nanna, and Enki, that the goddess might not be put to death in the Nether World (ll. 40 ff., 179 ff.). The two gods first mentioned did not listen to his supplications, but Enki restored Inanna to life by means of the 'food of life' and the 'water of life' (ll. 208 ff.). In the lamentation, the restoration is prepared in a similar way through a supplication to Anu and Enlil for a decision of the fate of the goddess (ll. 381 ff.). These are only some similarities as to the composition of the two poems. Otherwise, they are of quite different characters, although they undoubtedly refer to the same mythic-(ritual) events, the shrine being abandoned by the deity and delivered to destructive powers; or, provided that the lamentation is a text bearing upon an historical event, this text is an 'historical' text to a large extent built upon mythic-ritual motifs. In my view, however, it is more plausible to assume that this text, as well, is a religious composition like others of a similar

type. One fact in favour of this view is the rôle of cosmic phenomena in the text: it seems, for instance, hard to explain the wind as being used exclusively as a simile, whereas the real army of the enemies is not mentioned at all.

Accordingly, the view that the lamentation is a religious composition is apparently to be preferred to the other alternative. This does not exclude the possibility of its being composed some time in the Isin period and of certain details alluding to the destruction of Ur in the time of Ibi-Sin. This seems to be apparent also from a comparison with texts having a clear historical setting. Such a text is, for instance, Eannatum's Stela of Vultures, in which our motif occurs in a different form, the field (*gù-edinna*) of Ningirsu being destroyed by historical enemies. Unfortunately, the relevant part of the text is very fragmentary, but some relevant lines may be quoted:

<i>ensi giš-hú^{ki}</i>	"The ensi of Umma,
<i>me dingir-ni-sè lú[]da[]</i>	according to the decision of his
	god, with the men . . .
<i>gù-edin-na a-šà(g)-gán ki-ág</i>	gu-edin, the beloved field
<i>^dnin-gir-zu-ka</i>	of Ningirsu
<i>e-da-kú-e</i>	he ate." ¹

Then the text is almost totally broken, but in col. X we read about Eannatum appearing like an evil storm in Umma:

<i>é-an-na-túm-me giš-hú^{ki}-a</i>	"I, Eannatum in Umma
<i>im-húl-im-ma-gím</i>	like an evil storm . . .", ²

and, finally, he returns the field to the god, probably after having destroyed the land of the enemy:

<i>kur-kur[] n[a-ha]-lam</i>	"... destroyed the countries;
<i>é-a[n-na]-túm</i>	Eannatum
<i>[^dnin]-g[ir-zu-ra]</i>	to Ningirsu
<i>a-[šà(g) ki]-ág-[ni]</i>	his beloved field
<i>gù-edin-[na] šu-na</i>	gu-edin he
<i>mu-ni-gí . . .</i>	returned . . ." ³

¹ Obv. col. VI, ll. 8 ff. The text was published in Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* II, pp. XXXVIII—XLII; Pls. 3,3^{bis}, 4,4^{bis}, 4^{ter} and has been transliterated and translated a number of times. Apart from the broken line, this passage is clear.

² Obv. col. X, ll. 1 ff.

³ Obv. col. XI, ll. 23 f., Col. XII, ll. 1 ff.

In commemoration of this deed, Eannatum set up a stela to Ningirsu, which he called by this name: *na-rú-a gú-edin-na a-ša(g) ki-ág* ^d*nin-zu + gír-ka é-an-na-tím-me* ^d*nin-zu + gír-ra šu-na mu-ni-gí-a*,¹ and, by the aid of this passage, the restoration of the broken lines quoted is secured.² To judge from the great number of columns containing curses against the people of Gish-Hu, they are certainly real historical enemies. In the time of Gudea, a later ruler of Lagash, there is still a *gú-edin-na* of Ningirsu, Gudea himself maintaining that he founded it.³

On comparing the description by Eannatum of how the enemies entered the *gú-edin-na* of Ningirsu consuming it with descriptions occurring in 'Tammuz Liturgies' as to how the enemies (demons and so on) enter and destroy the *edin*, one cannot escape the impression that the activity of the enemies is described much in the same way. Accordingly, it may be easy to imagine that, in an early period, when the cult of the various gods had not taken a definite form, historical experience may have influenced the development of religious worship.⁴ If, thus, a conqueror used to pay much attention to a certain field of the chief deity of a city captured, and the ruler of that city succeeded in driving away the enemy pursuing him into his own country like an evil storm, it would only be natural, into the main annual festival, to introduce a commemoration of this deed in the form of a ritual combat, in which the enemies of the god were defeated. This victory of the god would at the same time warrant the military security of the god's field, the city, and later of the whole empire during the subsequent year. For such was the effect that ancient man ascribed to the worship of the gods. For this reason the 'sham fight' motif may originally have been included in the New Year Festival.

As is well known, the divine name *Dumu-zi(d)-ab-zu*, generally rendered as 'Tammuz', is mentioned in the early inscriptions from Lagash.⁵ Accordingly, this god was probably worshipped

¹ The final section of the rev., ll. 8 ff.

² Cf. particularly, the small inscription in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumer. u. akkad. Königsinschr.*, p. 26 g) col. I, ll. 19 ff.

³ Cyl. A col. XIV, ll. 9 f.

⁴ Even later this may have been the case, for it is likely that allusions to actual events were included in religious compositions.

⁵ Eannatum calls himself *ki-ág* ^d*dumu-zi-abzu*, "the beloved one of Dumu-zi-abzu", Stela of Vultures Rev. col. VI, ll. 2 f.

at Lagash in the time of Eannatum, although nothing is recorded concerning the details of this cult as it was practised at that date. Most of the literary Sumerian texts which have come down to us were inscribed about 2000 B. C.¹ and a number of them even later. However, this does not with any certainty mean that no literary compositions existed in earlier periods. Concerning a text like the King List, Th. Jacobsen has shown that the copies preserved were inscribed in the latter half of the Isin period, but that it was composed several centuries earlier, or in the reign of Utuhegal.² May we assume similar conditions in the case of some mythic and liturgical compositions? At any rate, it is hard to believe that, let us say in the time of Eannatum, the cult of the gods did not include the recitation of certain texts accompanying the cultic actions. Even in the periods bordering on pre-history, there existed shrines in which gods were worshipped. Is an oral element in the cult to be assumed at that date? In any case there is evidence of musical instruments being used in very early periods. Cult music was in all probability performed as the accompaniment of hymns and other texts recited as well as dances. If so, these texts had to be transmitted orally, since the writing had not yet been invented. Concerning the contents and extent of cultic texts in those early days, it is of course impossible to know anything, but such are very likely to have existed; at any rate, it is hard to believe that none were composed until about 2000 B. C. Or why have no tablets been excavated containing religious compositions composed earlier? After writing had been invented, the first items written down consisted of brief texts relating to daily life, economic texts, contracts, and so on. Then legal material, building inscriptions, and other historical texts were written down. The last to be written were probably literary compositions.³ This, however, does not necessarily mean that there was no such material earlier since, as stated above, hymns and other religious compositions are likely to have existed for some time before the copies

¹ Cf. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (1944), p. 1; cf. p. 9.

² See Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (*Assyriological Studies* No. 11/1939), pp. 128 ff.

³ As to this question, it is remarkable that only one per cent of all tablets excavated contain 'literary' compositions; see Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 11. Cf. also e.g. Fish, *Bull. John Rylands Library* 18/1934, p. 2; 30/1946, p. 4.

preserved were inscribed.¹ Since most of the literary compositions excavated date from approximately 2000 B. C., we have to assume that much of the material has been lost, or still lies in the earth. Thus, if cultic texts of some kind were used in the periods before writing had become common, they had to be transmitted orally and subsequently oral transmission and writing were used collaterally until transmission into writing became prevalent. Also the material existing increased during the course of the centuries. For these reasons, it is necessary to assume that the form of worship, as it was practised in early periods, differed widely from that which we meet with in the texts now available.

Now we will return to Eannatum's inscription. I pointed out that our motif occurs in his Stela of Vultures in an historical context in connection with the god Ningirsu: the enemies enter the god's field, and the ensi drives them away pursuing them into their own country. In a religious text quoted above and belonging to the cult of Ningirsu, we met with our motif in the following form: the enemies having entered the temple, the god is exhorted to place all of them on his 'fundament', and returning to his temple he pours down over them like a storm. The copy of this text preserved is late; but, as pointed out, the same motif is met with as early as in Eannatum's inscription — although in an historical context. Accordingly, it seems justifiable to assume that the cultic details in question have been influenced by the experience of the activity of historical enemies. Even in the case of some form of this motif having been introduced into the cult very early, psychological considerations favour the view that historical experience is prior to the elaboration of the cult. In this way, what is called 'Tammuz cult' may have developed in the course of the centuries. As a matter of fact, this term, as used by Witzel, for instance, includes a number of various deities of a similar type and worshipped in a very similar manner.

From the above, it is also obvious that the hostile powers *par excellence* are the hordes coming in from the desert, who enter the temple and carry off the young god. Then they make the temple and all its domains ruins and a desert land, which becomes hostile to the god. So the *edin*, the holy mountain, the cultivated earth are conceived as hostile in this phase of the ritual. Conse-

¹ Cf. above pp. 24 f. regarding the Ningirsu text, as compared to Fig. 1.

quently, in the texts that are associated with the Tammuz religion there is mention of the fight against the hostile powers as they come from 'the Nether World' and the sea, or the river, in complete parallelism.¹ The motif of the fight against the Sea has been given its own special form in *Enūma eliš* in Marduk's combat against Ti'āmat, the primeval ocean, which is the mother of all things, and also of the gods. A figure that is parallel with Ti'āmat is the *labbu*. These motifs are treated in rather greater detail in my recently published work on the Book of Nahum; so I will here content myself with a general reference to this work. It may be added that Pedersen has clearly seen that the import of the rite and myth of the sea-fight is that *T'hōm* (Ti'āmat), the dreaded and threatening one, must help to maintain the world of men, that she would like to rule and destroy.² "The victory over chaos is therefore identical with the production of rain and springs."³ Pedersen has also clearly seen that the notion of the fight against the desert has the same import: "Creation consists in establishing lawfulness out of confusion, and for the Israelites this becomes: to create habitable land out of the desert land, light out of darkness, a continent out of the ocean. Thus a land fit for habitation takes the place of chaos."⁴ Pedersen assumes that especially the notion of the Sea as the enemy power is an idea taken over by the Israelites from the Babylonians. However this may be, it is to be found in very closely related forms in the two cultures. But the same applies to the notion of the desert as the country hostile to the dwellings of men.

II.

We have now seen some features in Sumero-Accadian religious texts, showing the rôle of the *edin* flourishing with greenery at the beginning of the ritual drama, then being attacked by the enemies, made into a desert, and finally restored. We have also seen that such details in the ritual may ultimately derive from experience.

In the Ugaritic texts, as is well known, there is evidence of the worship of a deity of the 'Tammuz' type, viz. ('Al'iyān) Ba'lu. At the great annual festival, his death was lamented, and his return to life was celebrated. As will be apparent from a brief

¹ *Sup.*, p. 16. ² Pedersen, *Israel* 1, p. 474. ³ *Ib.*, p. 473. ⁴ *Ib.*, p. 472.

examination of some relevant passages, there seems to be evidence of a form of the Nether World motif very similar to that which we met with in Mesopotamia.

It may be appropriate to start from a text which was published by Virolleaud in *Syria* 16/1935, Pl. XLV (by him designated BH), together with his transliteration and translation (pp. 248 ff.). Virolleaud's work was soon followed by H. L. Ginsberg's study of the text,¹ and after that Th. Gaster's paper appeared.²

Although well known, the contents of the poem may be briefly sketched. Col. I relates 'Il's sending of Tlsh, who is titled 'mt *irh* and seems to be identical with Dgmy, 'mt *'atrt*, "into the 'aln *tkm*, into the midst of the 'steppe' (*btik mdr*)".³ There she is to give birth to demonic beings, the 'klm and the 'hlm (col. I, ll. 25 ff.), whose appearance is described as being similar to that of bulls and steers, having horns and humps (ll. 30 ff.). This passage is of importance because it reflects the common Near Eastern conception of the steppe, or the desert, as being the dwelling-place of demonic beings,⁴ who at the same time are conceived of as being related to the gods. Actually they are called 'gods' (ll. 28 f.) and are Ba'lu's brethren (col. II, ll. 47 f.). In spite of this relationship, the demons are the enemies of Ba'lu, to judge from col. I, l. 33: *wbhm pn b'l*, which seems to be rendered best "and against them shall be the face of Ba'lu".⁵ Then there follows a scene of Ba'lu's wandering to the *p'at mdr*, the "region of the steppe" (col. I, ll. 34 f.),⁶ where he encounters the demons (ll. 37 ff.). Lines 38 f., in my view, can best be explained as circumstantial clauses describing Ba'lu's emotions when approaching his adversaries:

בעל המדם יהמדם	"Ba'lu being filled with delight exceedingly,
בן דגן יהררם	Dagān's Son conceiving a desire,
בעל נגתהם בפענה	Ba'lu approached them with his <i>p'n</i> ,
ואל הד בהרצה	and 'Il-Hd with his <i>hrz</i> ."

¹ *Journ. of the Palestine Orient. Soc.* 16/1936, pp. 138 ff.

² *Acta Orientalia* 16/1937—38, pp. 41 ff. For other comments on BH see Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* 113/1936, pp. 5 ff.; *id.*, *Syria* 17/1936, p. 286; Montgomery, *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* 56/1936, pp. 226 ff.; Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 125 ff.

³ Both in l. 21 and in l. 35 the *d* of *mdbr* is erroneously written.

⁴ Cf. Gaster, *Acta Orientalia* 16, p. 42.

⁵ Thus Gaster and Engnell.

⁶ *p'at mdr* probably has a wider sense than 'the edge of the desert'; cf. the Hebrew *אֵפֶסֶת*, having the sense of 'edge', but also 'direction', or 'region'.

In my view, this general conception of the lines will do justice to the situation after Ba'lu had met the demons. — Then we have to discuss the two words which I left untranslated. Usually, *p'n* is rendered with 'foot'. Ginsberg takes *hrz* (thus on the tablet) to have approximately the same meaning: "*hrz* looks like a blend of two or more vocables of kindred signification."¹ Maybe it is possible to find another interpretation, for I have to confess that I remain unconvinced by such an etymology. In my study of the passage I have come to believe that the final ' of *hrz* is simply due to a dittography of the last wedge of the preceding sign;² accordingly, I propose the reading *hrz* as indicated in my transliteration. And the meaning of this word is not very hard to find. Unfortunately, more than half of col. II is broken; so we do not know what happens in the immediately following lines. However, since Ba'lu is to set out to encounter the demons, it may be reasonable to suspect that he is equipped with his weapons, to which the two words *p'n* and *hrz* may refer. As mentioned, *p'n* generally has the meaning of 'foot' (cf. the Phoenician *p'm*, the Hebrew פֶּדַם). It derives from a root which is preserved in the Accadian *pēnu*, 'to smash', and *pēnu*, 'leg'. The old meaning 'to strike', 'to hit' seems to be preserved in the Hebrew word פֶּדַם as used in Is. 41: 7, where it must actually be assumed to be a designation of a kind of 'hammer' in the expression הַלֵּם פֶּדַם; cf. the Targ.³ If so, *p'n* in our passage may be the designation of a 'hammer', or 'club' with which Ba'lu smashes the heads of his adversaries. Regarding the other word, *hrz*, we have to apply the observation by Ginsberg that in BH *z* is written when representing "Proto-Semitic *ḏ*".⁴ In this case, *hrz* has an etymological equivalent in the Arabic خَرَضَ, which is preserved in the adjective خَرِيضَة, of which 'Azhari says that he has only heard it used as an epithet of the lion.⁵ According to *Lisān al-'arab*, this word

¹ *Journ. of the Palestine Orient. Soc.* 16, p. 145, n. 25.

² As is well known, there are a number of erroneous writings in the Ugaritic texts; see e. g. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, pp. 16 ff. If my suggestion is correct, there would be a similar instance in Krt II. 298 f. *lkrkt*, where, according to Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 19 the second *k* is owing to a dittography of the final part of *r*.

³ See e. g. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 4. Aufl. (1922), p. 297; Bentzen, *Jesaja* 2, p. 22.

⁴ Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. ⁵ *Lisān al-'arab* 12, p. 2.

refers, among other things, to the sharp teeth of the lion.¹ This may be a specific semantic development, for in Hebrew we have the root *ḥrṣ* preserved in several words in which the original meaning 'to be sharp' is recognizable, e. g. *חרץ*, a designation

of an instrument of iron (II Sam. 12:31; I Chron. 20:3), and *חררץ*, being an epithet of the *מורג* (Is. 41:15; cf. Is. 28:27; Job 41:22; Amos 1:3). Accordingly, *ḥrṣ* may, in our passage, be a designation of a sharp weapon for stabbing the enemy. If this interpretation is correct, I may refer to *Fig. 2* showing Ba'lu equipped with his hammer, or club, and his spear; he is probably encountering his foes. It is noteworthy that Ba'lu's hammer is exactly similar to that of Ningirsu as shown by *Fig. 1*.² We are reminded of the way in which Deborah killed Sisera, for she actually smote his head with a hammer, and pierced his temples with a tent-pin (Jud. 5:26).

Of col. II, lines 1—44 are too fragmentary to allow for a translation. In l. 32, for instance, it is not quite certain that 'Ba'lu's eyes' are mentioned, for the word may be *p'n*, the *p* having been the final sign of the preceding line. These lines may have described the effect of Ba'lu's weapons 'seizing' the demons. It is true that the *ḥrṣ* is



Fig. 2. Reproduced from *Syria* 14/1933, Pl. XVI.

not mentioned in the preserved parts of col. II, but we do not know whether this would have been the case, if the text had been preserved completely. Suddenly, however, something happens, and we find Ba'lu burning owing to which it seems to be said that the earth is in mourning, provided that Ginsberg's interpretation is correct. In any case, in ll. 54 ff., we are told that Ba'lu has

¹ Cf. *Al-kāmūs* (Bombay 1855), p. 417.

² See above p. 25.

fallen, the consequences of which apparently are: that the king ceases from judgement; that the drawing (of water) ceases from the fountain; that the fire ceases in 'Il's temple, and, finally, the din of the craftsman's house, according to Ginsberg's interpretation.¹ In referring to I AB cols. III—IV, ll. 25 ff., this scholar styles the motif a 'Tammuz motif',² which, in my view is correct. Apparently, lines 59 ff. contain a fragmentary description of the state prevailing when Ba'lu has been put to death by the demons. It is significant to observe that the opposite of normal conditions is then introduced, as in other descriptions of a similar kind. In this text we are told that Ba'lu goes into the 'steppe', i. e. the Nether World, and is defeated by the demons inhabiting that region. This agrees well with the Mesopotamian material. This is one aspect of the 'Tammuz' drama. Another is that of the demons entering and destroying the temple. That this aspect as well is met with in the Ugaritic variety of this type of religion, seems to be apparent from other texts.

In his comment on the last lines of BH, as mentioned, Ginsberg refers to I AB cols. III—IV, ll. 25 ff. as another instance of the same motif. In the latter text — it need not be stressed — Ba'lu's death and return to life are the chief points. Though it is not expressly stated in the text, it seems undoubtedly to have been bound up with the annual ritual lamentation over Ba'lu's death and the celebration of his return to life. In my opinion, the occurrence of the phrase "in the seventh year" cannot be used as an argument in favour of the view that Ba'lu's death and revivification was celebrated every seventh year only.³ It is not very likely that such a disclosure should have been made in the text itself, and the general character of the context in which we meet with this phrase is not such as to imply a mentioning of the intervals between the celebrations of the festival. But even if these only took place every seventh year, it would be without significance for my theme, since even in such a case the motifs remain the same.

The beginning of I AB describes the goddess 'Anat in mourning over 'Al'iyan Ba'lu's death. Since, however, I AB is a continuation

¹ Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 f. with a philological comment on the words in question.

² *Ib.*, p. 149, n. 52. ³ Cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (1949), p. 3.

of I* AB, it may be appropriate to recall the situation of the last column of that text. The first lines of col. VI are broken. Then, in ll. 5 ff., we read:

(מ)עני לנעמי ארץ דבר	"We came to the pleasant places of the land of <i>dbr</i> ,
ליסמת שד שחל ממת	to the comely places of the field of <i>šhl mmt</i> .
מעני לבעל נפל לארץ	We came to Ba'lu fallen to the earth.
מת אלאין בעל	Dead is 'Al'iyan Ba'lu,
חלק זבל בעל ארץ	perished is the Prince, the Lord of the Earth."

In these lines, *'ars dbr* and *šhl mmt* are designations of the place where Ba'lu lies prostrate on the earth. In col. V, ll. 18 f. we find *dbr* equivalent to *'rs dbr*, and since, in those lines, *dbr* and *šd šhl mmt* are designations of a place where a heifer and a cow dwell, the words in question probably refer to the pasture. Etymologically, *dbr* may be related to the Hebrew דבר, 'pasture', but it may also have the meaning of 'steppe' occurring in the Hebrew מדבר, which is etymologically related to דבר. *'ars dbr* in our passage may then be of approximately the same meaning as נאות מדבר (cf. e. g. Jer. 23: 10; Joel 2: 22; Ps. 65: 13). Regarding the other expression, *šhl mmt*, various interpretations have been set forth: 'water-freshets', or *šhl* has been considered equivalent to the Hebrew שחל, 'lion'. It seems rather certain that, owing to the final *t*, *mmt* cannot be identical with *mīm*, 'water'. This word — provided the six consonants are to be divided in this way — looks like a participle 'aphel of the verb *mt*. Or the first *m* may be the enclitic *m* to be joined with the preceding word; thus *šhlm mt*. It cannot be considered a game of chance when Ba'lu is found prostrate on the earth exactly in the *dbr*. Ba'lu, the god of vegetation, represents this domain.² He gives it rain and fertility.³ When he dies, vegetation comes into mourning and dies. Then the pasture is in the hands of Möt. Accordingly, the crucial phrase *šhlmmmt* may refer to this change as a transition to the

¹ The persons speaking are messengers bringing the news of Ba'lu's death to 'Il.

² Cf. Gaster, *Archiv Orientalni* 5/1933, p. 118.

³ Cf. II AB cols. IV—V, ll. 68 ff.

announcement of Ba'lu's death. However, since the words allow for various interpretations, objections may be made to any etymology; accordingly, I content myself with these general remarks. If these are correct, the lines quoted refer to the change accompanying Ba'lu's entering the realm of death. By this change, the domains of the fertility god come into the hands of his enemy, Death.

In the sequel of the text, the messengers give the news of Ba'lu's death to the god 'Il, who then performs mourning rites:

יהרי להם ודקן	"He tears off (his) cheek-beard, ¹
יתלת קן שרעה	he 'harrows' his shoulder, ²
יחרה כנן אפ לב	he plows like a garden (his) 'chest', ³
כעמק יתלת במת	like a vale he 'harrows' (his) 'back'. ⁴

¹ The verb of this line is difficult, but the parallelism indicate a sense like that suggested by Gordon. — The expression *lhm wdkn* may be taken as a *hendiadyn* 'the beard of the cheeks'. On the Akkadian expressing for 'tearing off one's beard', see Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile* (1911), p. 37.

² As to the meaning of the verb *lht*, cf. the Akkadian *šalāšu*, which refers to the working up the field for the third time. See Landsberger, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* I (1937), p. 164. There is no evidence for the meaning of 'to plow'; cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* III (Glossary), p. 279 (No. 2175). But the parallelism with *hrt* in the following line supports the interpretation suggested. — The phrase *kn zr'h* was cleared up by Miss Herdner, *Revue des études sémitiques* 1942—1945, p. 49: cf. Job 31: 22. Probably, *kn* is etymologically related to the Akkadian *kanu*, *kānu*, which is a designation of a part of the body occurring in couples. Hence, *kn zr'* may have the sense 'shoulder'. An equivalent phrase denoting 'hip' may have existed.

³ Gordon reads *'ap lb*, which seems to be the best solution. The phrase may then be a denotation of the front part of the body. 'Nipples' might also be a possible interpretation; in this case *'ap* is a dual form. A support of the latter interpretation is the expression *b'ap zd*, 'from the nipple of the breast'. (SS = Gordon No. 52, l. 24); see Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, p. 24 with reference to *Babyloniaca* 16/1936, p. 39, for an example of the Accadian *appu* being used in a similar idiom.

⁴ *bmt* may have the sense of 'back', see Miss Herdner, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. 3 with references. Her interpretation was accepted by Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 218 (No. 394). However, for the meaning of *bmt*, we should perhaps compare the Accadian *bāmtu* (see Holma, *Namen d. Körpert.*, pp. 56 f.), which in the Amarna letters is once glossed *baṭnu* (Knudtzon, No. 232, ll. 10 f.; cf. Dhorme, *Revue biblique* 31/1922, pp. 231 f.). This indicates either the general sense of 'body', or a special part, e. g. 'belly', 'womb', or 'back'. Hence in the present passage, *bmt* may have one of these significations. 'Belly', for instance, would give a good sense.

ישא גה ורצה	He lifts his voice and shouts:
בעל מת	Ba'lu is dead!
מי לאם בן דגן	Woe to the people of Dagān's Son,
מי המלח אחר בעל	Woe to the multitudes of 'Atr Ba'lu,
ארד בארץ	I shall go down into the earth." ¹

Then, we are told, 'Anat wanders over mountains and hills and comes to the pleasant places of the land of the 'steppe', and to the comely places of the field of *šhl mmt*, where she finds Ba'lu prostrate on the ground. In I AB col. sup. I, we are told that she performs the same mourning rites as 'Il: Mountains and forests being in mourning she 'cuts' cheeks and beard²; she 'harrows' her shoulder; she plows like a garden (her) chest; like a vale she 'harrows' (her) back (ll. 3 ff.). She too makes up her mind to go down into the earth, and weeping she exhorts Shpsh to help her lift Ba'lu on her shoulders in order to carry him into the heights of Špn. She bewails him, buries him, and places him in a niche of the ghosts of the earth, whereupon sacrifices follow. 'Atrt and 'Il appoint 'Atrar 'Ariz king, who is to rule instead of Ba'lu. However, the main adversary of Ba'lu is Mōt. Forced by her longing for Ba'lu, 'Anat asks the latter to set Ba'lu free, and in the sequel there is a passage which may be taken as a description of the conditions prevailing while Ba'lu is dead. The lines run:

נפש הֶסְרָה בן נָשָׁם	"Breath is wanting among men,
נפש המלח ארץ	breath for the multitudes of the earth.
מֵעַתָּה לְנַעֲמֵי אֶרֶץ דְּבַר	I have come to the pleasant places of the
	land of the 'steppe',
לְיִסְמַת שֶׁד שְׁחַל מִמַּת	(to) the comely places of the field of,
	<i>šhl mmt</i> ," ³

and there Ba'lu was found. As pointed out above, the expressions *'ars dbr* and *šd šhl mmt* are likely to designate the pleasant pasturage being changed into a place of desert and desolation

² I* AB col. VI, ll. 19 ff.

³ For some passages mentioning Ishtar's beard, see Holma, *op. cit.* p. 37.

⁴ I AB col. II, ll. 17 ff. For the reading *lišmt*, cf. I* AB col. VI, l. 7, quoted above. — Hvidberg, *Graad og Latter* (1938), p. 23, n. 2, compares the passage to Ishtar's descent ll. 75 ff., and Rev., ll. 5 ff.

during the state prevailing when Ba'lu is dead, as indicated above in connection with another passage.

During the final phase of the drama, Ba'lu returns to life, and, in this connection, there is mention of a dream, in which the heavens rain dew and honey, foretelling Ba'lu's triumph.¹ In col. VI, the combat between Ba'lu and Môt is finally related. To judge from the context, this seems to take place in the heights of Špn, the place where Ba'lu's throne is said to be. This indicates conditions similar to those which we met with in Mesopotamian texts, for there we saw that, when returning to life, Tammuz came to his abode, defeated the enemies who then had captured it. This is the final triumph of the god celebrated by hymns of rejoicing. According to I AB col. V, ll. 5 ff. Ba'lu is then again returning to his throne as king. This event seems to have been told in the last lines of col. VI, although the passage is very fragmentary.

From what has been adduced, it may be apparent that the Ugaritic form of the cult of 'Al'i'yān Ba'lu includes a variety of our motif which, as to its chief points, is very similar to the Mesopotamian form, in its special elaboration. With these brief remarks we leave the Ugaritic material.

III.

When trying to follow the lines from the Sumero-Accadian and Ugaritic material discussed on the preceding pages, dealing with some features of the cult of the dying and rising god. That this cult, for some periods of pre-exilic times, was practised in Hebrew religion as well, is, in my opinion, beyond doubt,² and there are many passages that can be adduced in support of this view. The notion of 'the desert' particularly plays a conspicuous part in this connection, as I hope will be apparent from the following discussion, in which only a few selected texts will be dealt with.

It will be appropriate to start with some passages of the Psalms a great number of which are bound up with the cult,

¹ Col. II, ll. 2 ff.

² Regarding Yahweh as a dying and rising god see also Hyatt, *Journal of Religion* 10/1942 p. 74, with references to a number of passages. See also my *Associations of Cult Prophets*, pp. 128 f. (On p. 129, l. 7, read: The ritual situation reflected . . .); cf. Widengren, *Sv. Exeg. Årsb.* 10, p. 78.

and also — from a chronological point of view — we meet with much ancient material in them. First we are to devote our attention to Ps. 68. It is true, that the most recent commentator of this Psalm, E. Podechard, dates it from about 320 B. C.: "Bien qu'il soit difficile de préciser, on ne peut guère douter que ce soit un événement du genre de celui de l'an 320, avec la libération qui suivit, qui ait donné naissance au Ps. 68."¹ Such a view, however, is hardly tenable. In view of the many points of agreement between Ps. 68 and the Ugaritic texts, for instance,² and, for many other reasons, it may be more reasonable to regard it as a text of much earlier origin. As observed by previous scholars, we here come across the notion of the desert in the very sense that is relevant in the present investigation.³ So, this Psalm may be considered to be of great importance to my subject.

Ps. 68: 1 ff. refers to Yahweh's resurrection, whereupon a statement follows that his enemies are scattered and flee:

יָקוֹם אֱלֹהִים יַפְצוּ אֹיְבָיו "God riseth, his enemies are scattered,
וַיָּנוּסוּ מִשָּׁנָאיוּ מִפְּנֵי and those who hate him flee before his
presence."⁴

In Is. 33 we found an oracle referring to Yahweh's resurrection, and here we have the scene when this takes place. In vv. 3 f. we read, further, of the fate of the two parties: the enemies are driven away like smoke and perish like wax that melts before the fire, whereas the righteous are joyful and jubilate. In v. 5 we have an exhortation to glorify God, and to pave a way for him who rides upon the clouds.⁵ We learn here also that the

¹ *Revue biblique* 54/1947, p. 520.

² Cf. e. g. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, p. 114.

³ Cf. e. g. Bentzen, *Salmerne*, p. 385: "Der sigtes til ørkenen som modsætningen til menneskelandet", with a reference to Pedersen, *Israel I—II*. Further, Bentzen rightly states that Ps. 68 cannot be interpreted from an historical viewpoint, but from a religio-historical one: "Det er ikke en situation, men et gudsbillede, der gives os gennem disse vers, som gennem hele salmens forste del. Dette fortsættes ogsaa i det følgende" (*ib.*, p. 386). Also Schmidt, *Die Psalmen*, pp. 127 ff., is of the opinion that Ps. 68 is bound up with the New Year Festival.

⁴ V. 2. — יָקוֹם is rendered with ἀναστῆναι in the LXX. — On the tenses cf. Bentzen, *op. cit.*, 383. On אֵינָם ≠ אֵינָהּ, etc. in Ugar., see Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* (1944), p. 33.

⁵ So translates even e. g. Buhl, *Salmerne* (1900), p. 430; Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* 1 (1904), p. 235; Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (*Int. Crit. Comm.* 15: 2),

divine name is Yā — as is well-known, a variant of Yahweh. Provided that the verb *sll* has here the meaning of 'pave a way', this v. alludes to the procession, which here probably goes in the direction of the temple.¹ In v. 6 Yā is said to be the father of the fatherless and the judge of widows, a well-known motif in this connection. Further, he leads the 'solitary'² to the *baiit*, he brings out the captives, but 'the rebellious' must dwell in the desert (v. 7). This verse seems to be a rather manifest allusion to the desert as the dwelling-place of the enemies (*sōr^arīm*), which agrees with the material dealt with above,³ showing that the desert, *i. e.*, the Nether World, is the refuge of the enemies.

In the following verses there is a description of God's procession through the desert at the head of his people:

אלהים בצאתך לפני עמך	"O God, when thou goest forth before thy people,
בצערך בישומון סלה	when thou marchest through the wilder- ness,
ארץ רעשה אף שמים נטפו	the earth shaketh, the heavens also drop
מפני אלהים	at the presence of God . . ." ⁵

p. 75; see further e.g. Cassuto, *Tarbiz* 12/1940—41, pp. 2 ff., Ginsberg, *JBL* 62/1943, pp. 112 f. — *sll* is most likely to be rendered with 'to pave a way'; so e.g. Barnes, *The Psalms*, p. 319; Schmidt, *Die Psalmen*, pp. 125 f., etc. The objection to this interpretation that one cannot pave a way to a god, who rides on the clouds (cf. Bentzen, *op. cit.*, p. 384) is ruled out by similar passages. — The LXX has the rendering: ὁδοποιήσας τῷ ἐπιβιβηθέντι ἐπὶ θρόνῳ. The Pesh. has: **ܦܚܫܬ ܕܥܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ**. The idea that God goes to the West is of interest, compared with the correspondent idea in the case of Enlil, etc., cf. *sup.*, p. 10.

¹ Cf. e.g. Is. 40: 3, etc.

² Cf. Ps. 25: 16; Is. 27: 12 — It is tempting to refer to a Sumerian text, where we read regarding the sun god:

lú-aš-du-ur šeš-tab-ba-ni me-en "to the lonely wanderer thou art an ally."

(Witzel, *Anal. Orient.* 15 No. 5, l. 13; cf. also Kramer, *Bull. Amer. Schools Orient. Res.* 96/1944, pp. 23 f.) ³ Cf. pp. 10, 12 ff.

⁴ Cf. V AB, E, l. 12, etc., where the verb **נָדַד** is used about 'Anat's treading.

⁵ Vv. 8 f. Concerning the relation between these vv. and Jud. 5: 4 f., I think we must not apply too mechanical a view. It seems hard to believe that Ps. 68: 8 f. is a "quotation" from the song of Deborah, as Cannon, for instance, holds it to be (*The 68th Psalm*, p. 26); cf. Eerdmans, *Oudtestamentische Studien* 4/1947, p. 327: "a free citation". The view is equally possible that the verses in question originally belonged to a ritual composition and from there got

V. 10 f. continues the description of Yahweh's giving of rain and fertility to his inheritance, wherein his animals¹ dwell. Then, in vv. 12 ff., mention is made of an oracle communicated by a great host of *mēbaššērōt*, who report that the kings of the hosts are fleeing.² Consequently, Yā's procession through 'the wilderness' includes the battle against his enemies. The oracle is as follows:

מלכי צבאות ירדון ירדון	"The kings of the hosts flee, they flee,
ונת בית תחלק שלל	and 'the steppe' of the house divideth
	up the spoil.

כנפי יונה נחפה כסף	The wings of the dove are covered with
	silver,
ואברותיה בירקק חרוץ	and her feathers with yellow green gold.
בפרש שדרי מלכים בה	When Shaddai scattereth the kings in it,
תשלג בגלמון	it snoweth upon Salmon." ³

This passage is not very easy. Particularly, the phrase *נת בית* has given rise to various interpretations. The LXX has (τῇ) ὥραι: ὁτῇ τε τοῦ αἵματος, the Pesh. *ܡܠܟܝ ܥܒܪܝܬ ܝܪܕܝܢ*, and the Vulg. *pulchritudo domus*. These versions have accordingly taken *נת* to be a variant of *נאות* (cf. Jer. 6: 2). This view is shared by a number of modern expositors, e. g. Delitzsch, Wellhausen, Briggs, Cannon, Mowinckel,

into Jud. 5. This view is supported by the fact that, in Ps. 68, they are found in a proper context, whereas, in Jud. 5, they have no real connection with the context. Cannon, *op. cit.*, p. 27, refers to Deut. 33: 2 and Hab. 3: 3 and comments: "These passages taken together certainly show that there was such a tradition of a march through Edom current at various dates." Undoubtedly, there was such a tradition, which was, in my view, at least originally connected with the cultic pattern. On this point I agree with Bentzen, who stresses the cultic significance of Ps. 68 (*Salmerne*, pp. 386, 399, against Gunkel's eschatological interpretation, cf. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, p. 284).

¹ Bentzen, *op. cit.*, p. 388, takes *היהד* in this sense, with a reference to Ps. 50: 10, and some other passages; cf. Eerdmans, *op. cit.*, p. 327. In my view, this is the best solution, since there is no reason why this word should mean 'community' or 'tribe' here.

² Mowinckel and Bentzen take the phrase *המבשרית צבא יב* to be a 'poetical insertion', which must be considered the best interpretation. Then, the oracle follows. Eerdmans agrees.

³ Vv. 13—15. If we apply the cultic interpretation, the hostile kings are identical with the cultic enemies; and in agreement with Bentzen, I do not believe that Ps. 68 has to do with any historical situation.

Bentzen, etc. Others derive it from the root נִדָּה, 'to dwell'.¹ In my translation above, I rendered the word with 'steppe', from the root נִדָּה,² which, in my opinion, gives a good meaning to the context. In this case it is the equivalent of the Sumerian *edin*/Accadian *šēru*, *tarbašu*/Ugaritic *trbš*, which root we met with also in Psalm 23. Since it is said that the hostile kings flee, we must interpret this in such a way as to assume that they are driven away from the temple. Then it is rather natural that it is stated that the temple, or 'the steppe of the temple', more or less personified, divides up the spoil. If we take it as a personification, we have here the same phenomenon as was clearly stated in the Accadian material, where we saw that *šēru* was written with the *ilu*-determinative.³ In the latter case I suggested the interpretation that the soil and the pasture of the herds are parallel to the goddess, and this interpretation I find most plausible in the case of Ps. 68 as well.

Furthermore, concerning the dividing up of the spoil, some details may be referred to. It is not expressly stated, but it would appear to be the best solution to assume that the dove itself is the spoil, for in this connection it is said that the wings of the dove are covered with silver, and her feathers with green gold. In this case we here have an allusion to 'bird-catching', which we met with earlier in a Tammuz liturgy and other Sumerian and Accadian texts. In these examples the bird is clearly associated with the power of destruction,⁴ and this is probably true also in the case of the dove in the Old Testament. A support of this may be found in Jer. 25: 36—38:

קול צעקת הרעים ויללת אדירי הצאן	"A voice of the cry of the shepherds, and a howling of the principal of the flock
כי שדר יהוה את מרעהם ונדמו נאות השלום מפני חרון אף יהוה	for Yahweh spoileth their pasture. And the habitations of peace ⁵ are cut down because of the glow of the wrath of Yahweh.

¹ Cf. Eerdmans, *op. cit.*, p. 328. Apart from the translation of this word, Eerdmans interpretation of vv. 13—15 is hardly possible.

² Accordingly, I take it to be the Hebrew equivalent of the Sumerian *edin*/Accadian *nawū* (cf. my *Associations of Cult Prophets*, p. 142 n. 1).

³ See *sup.*, p. 18.

⁴ Cf. pp. 21, 34 f.

⁵ Or "the habitations of *Šalim*"?

עזב כנפיר סכו כי היתה ארצו לשמה He forsaketh, as a young lion, his
covert, for their land is become
a wilderness

מפני חרון הירונה ומפני חרון אפר because of the glow of the dove and
because of the glow of his wrath."

The difficulty is concealed in the word הירונה. But since there is a tradition taking it to mean 'the dove', I find it most natural to accept this interpretation,¹ which makes this passage agree with Ps. 68, for instance, where 'the dove' may be assumed to have the same rôle.

In Ps. 68: 16 ff. the motif of the mountain of God is introduced: "God's mountain is Bashan's mountain." Here Yahweh is to dwell for ever (v. 17). V. 18 mentions God's chariots — thousands of them — which reminds us of the driving with chariots as a symbol of the victory over the enemies,² an interpretation that also fits in here, since in the same verse there is a reference to Yahweh's return to his sanctuary. V. 19 mentions the taking of prisoners; and further, the last line is significant: "also the 'rebellious' are to dwell with *Iā 'lōhīm*." The notion that the supporters of the enemy forces, in other words 'the rebellious', are to be reunited with the hosts of the god, is to be found in a typical expression in Ps. 87: 4:

אזכיר רהב ובבל לידעי "I will mention Rahab and Babylon among
them that know me,

הנה פלשת וצור עם כוש Behold, Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia."

It is not improbable that the same notion is reflected in Ps. 68. This is the more likely as, to judge from v. 22, it appears to be only the leader of the enemy forces who is crushed:

אך אלהים ימהץ ראש איביו "But God shall crush the head of his
enemies,

קדקד שער מתהלך באשמו the hairy scalp of the one who walketh
in his trespasses."³

¹ So the Vulg. The P^{sh}.: *יִסְרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל*, and the LXX "of the large sword." יִסְרָאֵל, which means 'dove', may also have the meaning of 'destroying'. For examples showing the dove as contemptible or even hostile see e.g. Jer. 48: 28; Ez. 7: 16; Hos. 7: 11. — The Sumerian word for dove seems to be connected with the idea of 'overwhelming' or the like.

² Cf. my *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 124.

³ For some examples of various interpretations see Bentzen, *op. cit.*, p. 394. — On the idea referred to, see *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 114.

Then we pass on to vv. 23 ff., where we find a couple of interesting details. First, it is said that the enemies are to be fetched from Bashan and from the depths of the sea. Accordingly, we have a notice here to the effect that the enemies dwell upon the holy mountain and in the sea. This agrees with the view, previously expressed, that the sacred mountain becomes a refuge of the enemy when the state of chaos is prevailing.¹ Moreover, the enemies are said to be in the ocean, which may be compared with other passages where it is said that they are in the desert. This, in my view, is in perfect agreement with Pedersen's conception of the parallelism between the desert and the ocean as designations of the Nether World. Thus, fields and pastures, now turned into desert land, the sacred mountain, and the sea, are at a certain point of the ritual dwelling-places of the enemies; and from there they are to be fetched when Yahweh subdues them. From this we may conclude that there is a close agreement between the material dealt with above and the O. T. V. 24 mentions the wading in blood, a detail that we recognize from other texts, e. g. V AB, where there is a description of how 'Anat 'wades in blood' in connection with the ritual combat.² Finally, in the last half of v. 24, we read that the tongue of the dogs shall have a share in the enemies.

Vv. 25 ff. then describe the solemn procession, the entry of the king into the sanctuary: "They see thy procession, O God, the procession of my god, my king, in the sanctuary. First go singers, thereafter musicians, among damsels playing with timbrels."

Before going further, we shall just summarize the main features of the idea of Yahweh that we have found in Ps. 68. As has already been pointed out, the very beginning of this psalm exhorts the god to rise and scatter his enemies. Then, after allusions to various points of the ritual, a description follows of the solemn procession on its way to the sanctuary. In v. 5 God is called 'he who rideth on the clouds',³ and is further said to be the father of the fatherless, and the judge of the widows. In v. 8,

¹ Further, there are many instances where it is said that the sacred mountain during this state is laid in ruins, like the temple, cf. p. 48.

² V AB, B ll. 5 ff.

³ Cf. *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 90.

there is an allusion to his march through the wilderness, which must be interpreted as a designation of the Nether World, as in many other passages of the O. T. This being so, we here have an allusion to the god's sojourn in the Nether World. Further, his giving of rain and fertility is mentioned. Finally, he takes up his abode upon the sacred mountain, from which the enemies are driven away. At this moment a part of 'the rebellious' are reunited with the god's hosts.¹ These remarks are, I think, sufficient to illustrate the fact that, in Ps. 68, there are several features showing that the god, here met with, is the atmospheric high-god² descending to the Nether World, and then returning to his temple, *i.e.* to life. If my interpretation of the rôle of the dove is correct, we have also a noteworthy feature characteristic of corresponding passages in Sumero-Accadian ritual texts. Other details common to the latter texts and Ps. 68 have been pointed out above.

In Ps. 68 we found a notice saying that the rebellious were to dwell in the desert, and before going further we shall just touch upon some other instances of the same idea. In Ps. 72: 9, for instance, the צִיִּים, 'the desert animals' are parallel with אֹיְבָיו, 'his enemies', who are subdued when the king restores 'his righteousness'. In Lam. 5: 9, 'the sword of the desert' (חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר) is used as a denotation of the hostile forces, etc.³ On the other hand, the enemy, often called Rahab, or Tannîm, is said to dwell in the ocean. And, now, it is of interest that, in some cases, the sea-monster and the hosts of the desert are hostile to each other. This is, for instance, the case in Ps. 74: 14:

אַתָּה רִצַצְתָּ רֹאשׁ לִיָּתָן "Thou breakest the heads of Leviathan in
pieces,
תִּתְּנֵנוּ מֵאֵכֶל לָעַם לַצִּיִּים thou givest him to be meat to the desert
animals."

There is, of course, no reason for emending the text, as scholars have done. On the contrary, we have an interesting allusion to

¹ For a discussion of this motif see *ib.*, p. 114.

² Besides the works cited in *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 89 n. 3, other books might, of course, have been cited, e. g. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, p. 24, where Yahweh is interpreted as a storm god, with references to, *int. al.*, Nah. 1: 3—6, and Ps. 68: 7—17, 33.

³ The sword rather often occurs as the instrument of destruction.

Yahweh's slaying of Leviathan, who is given as food to the desert hordes, who must here be taken to be Yahweh's followers.¹

We have seen that there are two, hostile parties — one represented by the desert hosts, and the other by the power associated with the Sea. In the Sumero-Accadian discussed above, we found similar conditions in a lamentation over the destroying flood in connection with 'Tammuz'. Now, in the Tammuz liturgies, man is often described as associated with the enemies. From this point of view, Ps. 124 is of consequence:

לולי יהוה שהיה לנו יאמר נא	"If Yahweh had not been on our
ישראל	side, ² may Israel now say,
לולי יהוה שהיה לנו בקום עלינו	if Yahweh had not been on our side,
אדם	when men rose up against us:
אזי חיים בלענו בחרות אפס בנו	Then they had swallowed us up
	living, when their wrath was kind-
	led against us.
אזי המים שטפונו נחלה עבר על	Then the waters had overflowed us,
נפשונו	the stream had gone over our neck.
אזי עבר על נפשונו המים הזורונים	Then the agitated waters had gone
	over our neck.
ברוך יהוה שלא נתנו טרף	Blessed be Yahweh, who hath not
לשניהם	given us as a prey to their teeth.
נפשונו כצפור נמלטה מפה וקשים	Our soul as a bird is escaped out
	of the snare of the fowlers;
הפה נשבר ואנחנו נמלטנו	the snare is broken, and we are
	escaped."

In this psalm, as we see, associated with the agitated waters are the enemies of Yahweh and his followers. The latter are said to escape as birds, a detail that is of certain importance since, in the same way, Ishtar is said to escape as a bird from 'Tammuz' and the party associated with him. Possibly, the same motif occurs in Jer. 3: 2, where the apostate people is compared to a ³ערבי in

¹ Cf. below, pp. 51 ff.

² On the Aramaism לולי see most recently Bentzen, *Salmerne*, p. 621, with a reference to Delitzsch, who pointed out that this phrase means *nisi*. The occurrence of Aramaisms is no proof of a particularly late date of the psalm (cf. Bentzen, *op. cit.*, p. 622).

³ In the expression ערבי, the final letter may be taken as the ancient genitive ending.

the desert. I think it most natural to render this word with 'raven' (*cum* LXX), and take it as a reflection of the old motif.¹

In Ps. 124 we have one party, obviously Yahweh's followers, who say that they escaped as birds from man. Thus we have two parties hostile to each other. In the above, we have dealt with the point of the texts that describes the condition introduced when the god descends into the Nether World. Then the enemies enter the temple, which is destroyed together with all that is therein, and so becomes the dwelling-place of the enemies. That this is the case also in Hebrew ritual, seems to be clear enough from many instances. An illuminating passage is Ps. 79: 1:

אלהים באו גוים בנהלתך "O God, the nations are come into thine inheritance;

טמאו את היכל קדש they have defiled thy holy temple;
שמו את ירושלם לעיים they have laid Jerusalem in heaps..."²

Then a description of the condition then prevailing is continued in the following vv.: the dead bodies of Yahweh's servants they have given to the fowls of the heavens, and to desert animals.³ This because of Yahweh's jealousy.

Another typical example of the same character is found in Ps. 74: 1 ff. We may quote vv. 3 f., for instance:

הרימה פעמך למשאות נצח "Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual ruins;

כל הרע אויב בקדש all (that) the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.

שאו צורריך בקרב מועדך Thine enemies roar in thine assembly;
שמו אותם אותות they set up their signs (for) signs."⁴

This is admittedly a description of the state of chaos of the common type, and it is continued in the following vv., where it is said that they have cast fire into Yahweh's sanctuary and

¹ The question of the historical setting of this Psalm will not be discussed here. From what has been said, it seems to be apparent that this psalm, as well, was bound up with one of the great festivals. So also Mowinckel and Bentzen, etc.

² My view regarding the date of the psalm might be apparent from the preceding foot-note. Some scholars have dated it as late as 587, to which H. Schmidt objects, and this by right, since this psalm must belong to an early pre-exilic date.

³ Similar motifs are common in the Tammuz liturgies, in the sections dealing with the devastation of the temple. In Lam. 2: 2 it is said that the Lord himself swallowed up 'the habitations' of Jacob. ⁴ Cf. Lam. 2: 7.

defiled the dwelling place of his name. The psalm ends with a prayer that God may arise and plead his cause. Accordingly, we have the usual conditions here: before Yahweh arises, the enemies dwell in his temple, in which their signs are set up; the sanctuary is desolated, destroyed by fire, and defiled.

We can go a step further and compare Ps. 44 to the texts touched upon. Ps. 44 begins by mentioning traditions of works that God did "in the times of old." Then follows a lamentation over the present state:

אף זנחת ותכלימנו	"But thou hast cast off, and made us ashamed,
ולא תצא בצבאותינו	and goest not forth with our armies."
תתנו כצאן מאכל	"Thou hast made us like sheep (appointed) for meat;
ובגוים זריתנו	and among the nations thou hast scat- tered us . . ."
כל זאת באתנו ולא שכחנוך	"All this is come upon us; yet we have not forgotten thee,
ולא שקרנו בבריתך	neither have we dealt falsely in thy cove- nant.
כי דכיתנו במקום תנים	For thou hast broken us in the place of the dragon,
ותכס עלינו בצלמות	and covered us with darkness." ¹

As is seen, we have here the motif of desolation, for which those who lament are not conscious of any reason. They are broken "in the place of the dragon" and covered with darkness. This seems to imply the prevalence of the state of chaos, a fact that is supported by v. 23. Moreover, to judge from vv. 24 ff., this condition prevails because God is sleeping:

עורה למה תישן אדני	"Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?
הקיצה אל תזנה לנצח	Awake, cast not off for ever." ²
קומה עזרתה לנו	"Arise for our help,
ופדנו למען חסדך	and redeem us for thy mercies' sake."

¹ Vv. 10, 12, 18, 20.

² In v. 25 the idea of Yahweh as hiding his face is introduced, and consequently this idea is bound up with the state obtaining when the god sleeps. 'Sleep', however, is often used as a simile of 'death'.

In my view, there can scarcely be any doubt concerning the interpretation of this passage. The chaotic condition is obviously conceived as being a consequence of the god's sleep. Now, as is well known, sleep is a common synonym of death.¹ Consequently, this psalm clearly reflects the general pattern, since the state of chaos is here prevailing during the god's sleep, which may be regarded as another expression of his death, or sojourn in the Nether World.

Now, we shall adduce some instances showing the rôle that this ideology plays in the prophetic texts. Before proceeding to this, I must refer the reader to my brief remarks in another place concerning the problem of tradition in these texts. My intention there was to stress the fact that "utterances originally occurring in ritual texts can be assigned to definite historical situations."² This — I also stressed — implies, of course, the possibility of modifying the ritual motifs, or making additions to them in order to suit the new situation.³ In such a way we find that ritual motifs, and often such as are originally bound up with the ideology dealt with in the present treatise, are used in many passages in the prophetic books. As I hope, it will be apparent that there are instances enough to show that the notion of 'the desert' and its equivalents have the same import as in the material dealt with above, *i.e.* it is the place from where the hostile and destructive powers come desolating the fertile soil and laying the temple and the sacred mountain in ruins. It is only natural that Yahweh himself should in many passages be described as the one who causes destruction. In connection with the last example quoted, I pointed out that the state of chaos was conceived of as being a consequence of God's sleeping, *i.e.* death, which agrees very well with the ideology reflected in Sumerio-Accadian texts, where the state of chaos is described as having the same cause. Furthermore, in the latter texts we saw instances showing that the god himself was conceived of as being the one

¹ Cf. Bentzen, *op. cit.*, p. 244: "Udtrykket viser, hvorledes en primitiv religiositets udtryk kan leve henge i digtningen." Further, he compares this passage to 1 Ki. 18: 27. In my view, Ps. 44 creates the impression of being an ancient cultic text, which does not exclude the possibility of its being connected with a special historical situation since cultic texts were often applied to concrete historical situations and modified in order to agree with them.

² Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, pp. 156 ff.

³ Cf. *ib.*

who causes destruction. We shall now see some instances of this in the prophetic texts.

In the prophetic texts, as is well-known, there are many passages describing the destruction caused by Yahweh, but also the restoration following upon the destruction. Thus, Yahweh has both an evil and a good aspect. As a characteristic example we may mention Jer. 31, where there is a significant description of the Messianic state. In v. 10 we read: "He who scattered it (the people) shall also gather it."¹ Further, in v. 8, it is said that Yahweh shall bring his people from the north country which is often mentioned as the region from where the enemies are coming. Accordingly, Yahweh is both the one who 'scatters' and the one who 'gathers', and, at the same time, we have an interesting oscillation in the description of the enemies.

We have a typical instance in Is. 33, and it may therefore be as well to begin with this text before going into detail. Is. 33 begins with an oracle against the *šōdēd*, 'the ravager', who, after ceasing to ravage, is himself to be overtaken by devastation (v. 1). After that a prayer is addressed to Yahweh for salvation from the tribulation. On this follows a description of how 'the people' flee from Yahweh's voice, and how they are scattered when he arises. Then the booty may be taken, as when locusts ravage a countryside (v. 4).² The guarantee for this is Yahweh, who dwells on high, and who fills Zion with *mišpāt* and *ṣedāqā* (v. 5). Therefore salvation will come (v. 6). But this condition does not yet prevail: "the *ʾāḇīlīm* cry without and Šalim's messengers weep bitterly" (v. 7).³ This state is combined with the destruction of the country and vegetation: highways lie waste, cities and men are not regarded (v. 8), the country mourns, Lebanon is withered up, Sharon is like a desert, the forests of Bashan and Carmel shed their leaves. This is, as we see, a typical description of the state obtaining when the god is in the Nether World. Destruction

¹ 'To scatter' and 'to gather' are, as is well-known, common terms of destruction and restoration, respectively.

² The MT has the reading *יִצְחָק שְׂלֵלֶנּוּ אֶת הַחֲסִידִים*, which is probably to be corrected into *יִצְחָק שְׂלֵל בָּנֵי אֶת הַחֲסִידִים*, in agreement with the Targ. See *Biblia Hebraica*³, ed. R. Kittel; Bentzen, *Jesaja* 1, p. 272.

³ On the interpretation of these terms see Halдар, *Associations of Cult Prophets*, pp. 130 ff.

tion has come, and the fruitful earth has become a wilderness — exactly the same features of which we have seen examples above. But in this situation the turning point comes:

עתה אקום "Now I will arise, saith Yahweh,
 עתה ארומם עתה אנשא now I will lift up myself, now I will be
 exalted."

This is an oracle announcing Yahweh's return to life, and it is followed by the conquest of the enemies and the advent of the Messianic era.¹ Then there shall be bread, and the waters shall be sure (v. 16). Then the king shall be seen in his glory (v. 17). This, it seems to me, is enough to illustrate the view that Yahweh is here conceived of as a dying and rising god. It is, furthermore, of great import for my thesis that it is expressly stated here that, in the part of the text that must be taken as a description of the state prevailing during the god's sojourn in the Nether World, all vegetation is destroyed, that the fertile land has become a desert, and that lamentations are made.

In Joel 1 f., we have perhaps the most illuminating context describing Yahweh as the devastator, and this description is quite in accordance with the general pattern, some features of which we have seen above. In 1:4, there is a description of the way the locusts consume everything.² This is the terrible people, "one that none can count", that has come over the land (v. 6). The vines are laid waste, the fig-trees broken down. Then shall lamentations sound "like a virgin who wears mourning for the bridegroom of her youth," which may be compared to lamentations over the dead god.³ Food offerings and drink offerings have disappeared,⁴ and the priests mourn. In the following vv., this description of the destruction is continued, and in v. 15 we learn that it is Yahweh's day that is near. It comes as a destruction from Šaddai. Then, once more there follows a description of the de-

¹ Cf. Bentzen, *Jesaja* 1, p. 274: "Efter denne skildring av landets jammerfulde tilstand griber Jahve ordet med det nye budskab (v. 10 ff.)."

² Cf. Hvidberg, *Graad og Latter*, pp. 120 f. On the Book of Joel, see Engnell, *Svenskt bibliskt uppslagsverk* 1 (1948), cols. 1075 ff., Kapelrud, *Joel Studies* (1948).

³ Cf. below *ad* Jer. 6: 26.

⁴ This is why offerings may not be brought during this phase of the ritual, cf. my *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, pp. 110, 156.

struction and the lamentation, in which the herds of cattle participate. In 2:1 f. Yahweh's day is again said to be at hand: it is "a day of darkness and fog, a day of clouds and mists." A great and mighty people is coming. V. 3 is interesting:

לפניו אכלה אש	"Before them devoureth a fire,
ואחריו תלהט להבה	and behind them burneth a flame.
כגן עדן הארץ לפניו	As the garden of Eden is the land be-
	fore them,
ואחריו מדבר שממה	and behind them the desert of a deso-
	lation;
וגם פליטה לא היתה לו	yea, and none escapeth them."

We have here an impressive description of how the land, which before the destruction, is as the garden of עדן (cf. the Sum. *edin*)¹ becomes a wilderness, a feature which we have observed above in similar contexts. We are reminded of the devastating tempest that Enlil — or whatever the god may be called — sends over the country, and lets locusts destroy the pastures.² It is, further, an interesting feature that nobody escapes the destruction.

In the following verses the enemy is described in detail, and in v. 11 it is expressly stated that they are Yahweh's followers. But then the turning point follows, for, in an oracle, Yahweh exhorts the people to return to him, "for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and abundant in kindness, and repenteth him of the evil." Yahweh further orders a fast and a solemn assembly to be announced. Then the mourning rites shall be performed:

בין האולם ולמזבח יבכו	"Between the porch and the altar let weep
הכהנים משרתי יהוה	the priests, the ministers of Yahweh,
ויאמרו חוסה יהוה על עמך	and let them say: Spare, Yahweh, thy
	people,
ואל תתן נחלתך להרפה	and give not thine heritage to reproach,
למשל בם גוים	that the nations should rule over them:

¹ The Hebrew עדן is generally assumed to be a LW from the Sumerian *edin*. Above, I have quoted texts that are in perfect agreement with the present context.

² For a comparison between the locust motif in Joel 1 and the Tammuz texts see Widengren, *Sv. exeg. Årsb.* 10, p. 76.

למה יאמרו עממם Where is their God?¹
 people:

Hvidberg is undoubtedly right in assuming that, among the lamentations and the exhortations to weep before Yahweh, there are passages that, with regard to their style and motifs, reflect ancient Israelitic traditions of lamentations and weeping bound up with the withering of vegetation.² To these passages also the motif of the locust certainly belongs. A certain fluctuation of the motifs is a common phenomenon in texts of this kind, a feature that is characteristic of the Book of Joel, and particularly of Ps. 68, as we observed above.

The consequence of the lamentations is that Yahweh will be jealous of his land and pity his people. Then he answers that he will send corn, and wine, and oil. The enemies, the northern people, will be removed far off "into a land barren and desolate" (לא ארץ חיים). This phrase is with fair certainty a signification of the Nether World, and thus we observe that 'the desert' is here the place whither the enemies are driven when subdued. As already mentioned, Yahweh, in an oracle, promised fertility, which motif is then continued in vv. 21 ff.:

לא תירא ירדתי ושלתי "Fear not, O land; be glad and rejoice;
 לא תירא ירדתי ושלתי for Yahweh will do great things.
 לא תירא ירדתי ושלתי Fear not, ye beasts of the field,
 לא תירא ירדתי ושלתי for the pastures of the desert turn
 green;

והי יצחקו בני ישראל Be glad then ye children of Zion, and
 אלהים rejoice in Yahweh, your God,
 כי נתן לכם את המטרה לארץ for he hath given you the early rain
 according to *š'ulûš*³ . . ."

The description is uncommonly clear in this text, and we can observe the whole course of events. As we see, the usual motifs

¹ Joel 2: 17. "Where is the god?" is a common cultic cry uttered in the lamentations over the dead god.

² *Grass of Latter*, p. 128.

³ The use of the term *š'ulûš* in connection with the rain is worthy of notice.

recur. So we may be justified in concluding that the Book of Joel is based upon the ritual pattern that we are studying. With this I have not made any statement as to the actual 'setting in life' of the Book of Joel. If it is assumed that it refers to a concrete historical situation, it is another example of the same phenomenon as I maintained in the case of the Book of Nahum.¹

In the Book of Joel, we saw that Yahweh causes the destruction, and his 'army' is there described as a strong people associated with locusts and fire destroying the pastures so that the land mourns. In Jer. 14: 1 ff. we have a description of how Judah and her gates mourn because the land is dried up and there is no water, and even the animals find no grass. This description is followed by a confession of the sins of the people. But Yahweh answers that he will not hear their cry when they fast, and that he will not accept their burnt offerings and oblations,² but consume them by the sword, and by famine, and by pestilence.³ The prophet objects that the prophets say: "Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine; but I will give you assured peace in this place." Then follows a declaration by Yahweh that the prophets prophesy lies. Thus, this passage might be taken as an instance of Jeremiah's condemnation of the prophets who prophesy peace. It is however of interest that Jeremiah quotes the sayings of the prophets in objecting to the announoement of the severe punishment. To this passage we may compare Jer. 4: 5 ff., a passage which is introduced by a common formula. Then in vv. 6 ff. there is a description of the enemy from the North:

עלה אריה מסבכו	"The lion cometh up from his thicket,
ומשחית גוים נסע	and the destroyer of the nations has broken
יצא ממקמו	up: he has gone out from his place
לשוב ארצו לשמה	to make thy land desolate;
עריך תצונה מאין	and thy cities shall be laid waste, without an
יושב	inhabitant." ⁴

¹ See my *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, Engnell, *op. cit.*, col. 1076, maintains the view that the Book of Joel originally was a liturgy preserved in a revised form. Kapelrud, *op. cit.*, opposes him. In any case, it is hard to avoid the impression that it is to a large extent based upon cultic motifs. The fact that the locust motif plays a more important part than in the Tammuz liturgies is no decisive argument against this view. Cf. Kapelrud, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.

² V. 12.

³ V. 13.

⁴ V. 7.

This description of the enemy agrees to some extent with Is. 5: 20 ff.,¹ and undoubtedly the same power is referred to in both passages. Because of the approach of the enemy, the people are exhorted to gird themselves with sackcloth, to lament and to howl, "for the fierce anger of Yahweh is not turned back from us." The condition on that day is described in such a way that the heart of the king shall perish and those of the princes, and the priests shall be astonished, and the prophets shall wonder (v. 9). Then the continuation runs:

אהה אדני יהוה אכן	"Ah, Lord, Yahweh, surely thou hast greatly
השא השאת	deceived
לעם הזה ולירושלם	this people and Jerusalem,
לאמר שלום יהיה לכם	saying, Ye shall have peace:
ונגעה חרב עד הנפש	whereas the sword reaches unto the throat."

This passage is very similar to those in which it is said that Yahweh breaks the covenant.² In the following verses there is an oracle announcing the destruction caused by the desert wind:

רוח צח שפים במדבר דרך	"A dry wind of the high places in the
בת עמי	desert toward the daughter of my
	people,
לוא לזרות ולוא להבר	not to winnow, nor to cleanse.
רוח מלאם אלה יבוא לי	(Even) a wind full with curse ³ shall
	come unto me:
עתה גם אני אדבר משפטים	Now will I also utter judgments against
אתם	them.
הנה כעננים יעלה	Behold, as clouds he shall come up,
וכסופה מרכבותיו	and as a whirlwind his chariots shall be:
קלו מנשרים סוסיו	swifter than eagles are his horses.
אוי לנו כי שדדנו	Woe unto us! for we are ruined."

In this passage, we may notice the important rôle that the wind plays as the destructive factor, and, further, that the destruction

¹ Cf. *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 132.

² Cf. e. g. Ps. 44, where it is described how the people is repudiated without their having broken the covenant; cf. p. 49.

³ Provided that the reading אֶסָּה is acceptable, in which case the final *m* in אֶסָּה may be taken as the enclitic *-m*. The reading of the LXX (πνεῦμα πλερωμένον) is obviously due to a haplography.

is conceived of as being a judgment. In the sequel of this chapter there is a very conspicuous description of the state caused by Yahweh as the destroying wind:

ראיתי את הארץ והנה תהו ובהו	"I behold the earth, and, lo, solitude and emptiness,
ואל השמים ואין אורם	and the heavens, and their light does not exist.
ראיתי ההרים והנה רעשים	I behold the mountains, and, lo, they tremble,
וכל הגבעות התקלקלו	and all the hills shake.
ראיתי והנה אין האדם	I behold, and, lo, there is no man,
וכל עוף השמים נדדו	and all the birds of the heavens are fled.
ראיתי והנה הכרמל המדבר	I behold, and, lo, the garden is a wilderness,
וכל עירו נתצו	and all the cities thereof are broken down . . .
כי כה אמר יהוה	For thus saith Yahweh,
שממה תהיה כל הארץ וכלה לאעשה	The whole land shall be desolate, and an end I shall verily make. ¹
על זאת תאבל הארץ וקדרו השמים ממעל	Because of this shall the earth mourn, and the heavens above shall be black." ²

Chapters 5 and 6 continue this description of the lamentable condition. The latter chapter announces again that the enemy from the North will come, and in this connection it may be of consequence to note that Jerusalem is compared to a beautiful woman. Further, we may state that the destruction is to come during the night (v. 5), and even the day declines, "for the shadows of the evening are stretched out."³ Finally, in v. 26, the people is exhorted to make mourning for an only (son). By reason of this it may be stated that, in these chapters, there are passages which contain reminiscences of ancient cultic motifs, though they have been used in an entirely new context with a special bearing. The chapters consist of a number of small units, but

¹ On the parallel phrase in Nah. 1:3, see *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, p. 18; cf. Nah. 1:9.

² Vv. 23—28.

³ On the idea of the destruction coming at sunset, see pp. 19 f., 37.

this is not the place for discussing this question, since it does not affect the occurrence of the motifs referred to.

In Jer. 4, we saw a typical instance of Yahweh as the destructive storm turning the land into a wilderness. We shall now quote another text that is a good evidence of the same phenomenon, *viz.* Is. 27. This chapter begins with a reference to Yahweh's slaying of Leviathan, 'the flying serpent' and 'the crooked serpent', also called 'the dragon that is in the sea'. Then in v. 8, it is said that Yahweh is growling with his rough wind on the day of the east wind, whereby the iniquity of Jacob will be purged. Then we find a description of the state of chaos of the usual type:

בְּזֹמֶם כָּל אֲבְנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ	"when he maketh all the stones of the altar
כִּאֲבֵי גֵר מִנְפָצוֹת	as chalkstones beaten in sunder,
לֹא יִקְמֻ אֲשֵׁרִים וְהַמִּנִּים	the <i>ʾāšērās</i> and the pillars shall not stand up.
כִּי עִיר בְּצִוְרָה בָּדֵד	For the fortified city shall be desolate,
וְנֹה מִשְׁלָה וְנִעְזָב כַּמְדָּבָר	the steppe forsaken, and left like a wilderness:
שָׁם יִרְעֶה עֵגֶל	there shall the calf feed,
וְשָׁם יִרְבֵּץ וְכָלָה סִעְפֵּיהָ	and there shall he lie down, and consume the branches thereof . . ."

In vv. 12 f. the restoration is then described: The children of Israel will be gathered one by one. The great trumpet will be blown, and they will worship Yahweh in the holy mount. Thus, it may be seen that this text, too, reflects the common pattern. This chapter is significant because it associates the slaying of the sea monster with the destruction caused by the wind; so it may be said to be a reflection of the ancient motif which is described also in *Enūma eliš*. Marduk's slaying of Tīāmat by the fierce winds may accordingly be illustrated in some degree by such a context as Is. 27.

From the texts last quoted it is, I think, rather clear that, when the destroying wind goes forth, it is the Sea and the powers associated with it that are subdued. But this motif changes with the contrary one, *viz.* 'the overflowing flood' as the means by which the god destroys; and particularly in the Tammuz liturgies this vacillation is a striking feature. We may take one or

two instances to illustrate this. In Is. 21:1 we find 'the desert of the Sea' as the object of an oracle:

משא מדבר ים	"Announcement against the desert of the Sea.
כסופות בנגב ילחלוף	Indeed ² , storm-winds advance against Ngb,
מדבר בא מארץ נוראה	from the desert come, from the terrible country;
חזות קשה הגד לי	a hard vision hath been announced unto me:
הבוגד בוגד והשורד שורד	The apostate are apostate and robbers rob."

Apart from the historical application of this context, we may note that the enemies are described as coming from 'the desert, the terrible country', and obviously they are conceived as coming against 'the desert of the Sea', *i. e.* the latter is to be subdued. Accordingly this passage contains the same motif as we found in the preceding quotations. Since, in Is. 21:1 f., the object of destruction is 'the desert of the Sea', one might compare e.g. the beginning of V AB, where we are told how 'Anat fights the people on the sea-shore. In Ps. 42:7 f., we have, in my view, an illuminating description of a similar bearing:

אלהי עלי נפשי השתוהה	"My God, my soul is heavy within me;
על כן אזכרך	therefore I think of thee
מארץ ירדן והרמונים מהר	'from' the land of Jordan, and Hermon,
מצער	'from' Miš'ār's mountain.
תהום אל תהום קורא לקול	T'hōm calls to T'hōm, at the thunder of
צנוריד	thy waterfalls;
כל משבריד וגלדך עלי עברו	all the billows and waves go over me."

Bentzen correctly interprets this passage as a description of the Nether World.³ If we take this text as a description of the state prevailing before the forces of T'hōm/Ti'āmat are conquered, we may imagine that the next phase is the coming of the hosts from the desert, *i. e.* the desert wind with the desert animals, locusts, etc. Then the waters are dried up, and the country is made into a

¹ On the form להלם and similar examples see Eitan, *Revue des études juives* 74/1922, pp. 1 ff.

² כ is most probably the emphatic כ.

³ Bentzen, *Salmerne*, pp. 234 ff., with references to H. Schmidt and Pedersen.

desert. The final phase, then, is introduced when the god sends the wind which brings rain and fertility. This means restoration. In any case it is clear that the condition prevailing, as described in Ps. 42, is due to T^hōm's exercising her dominion;¹ and this is, according to the common conception, broken by the god's sending his wind(s) against her, whereby the land is devastated and the rivers are dried up, whereupon the new creation follows. However, we should not expect to find a homogenous conception of these events in all texts. On the contrary, as I have already stressed above, the motifs often merge into one another.

I think the material adduced has in some degree elucidated the problem of our investigation. So I must, for the present, content myself with what has been said and approach the conclusion, though, of course a good many other passages might have been adduced as well.² Then only one or two further details of the ritual, as reflected in the Old Testament, remain to be touched upon.

In Ps. 107, for instance, the liberation of the people from the Nether World is described as a breaking of their fetters by Yahweh. In v. 16 of the same psalm, we further read that Yahweh breaks down the copper gates and the bars of iron. Accordingly, provided that this context reflects the ritual events, which I am sure it does, we may maintain that, when the procession headed by the god is to leave the Nether World, the gates must be broken down. We are here reminded in a remarkable way of the gates of the Nether World according to Mesopotamian notions.

So we have seen that there are many substantial points common to Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic religions concerning the ritual pattern to which we have devoted our attention. From the outset the 'steppe' is the vernal pasture, which holds true in the whole area. Then it is turned into a desert, and the land is desolated. According to Tammuz liturgies, Ishtar afterwards betakes herself to *edin* with much greenery to liberate Tammuz, and when the god returns *edin* is once more adorned with trees. We found instances of the same detail in the O. T. as well. In any case, there is an important passage in Ps. 118:27 which

¹ As is apparent from v. 8.

² Besides further relevant passages in the Psalms and the prophetic texts, it would be of interest to follow these motifs in the traditions about the exodus and desert wandering. Cf. Pedersen's interpretation of Ex. 1—15.

must be interpreted in this way, since the procession returning to the temple *int. al.* includes the following detail:

אֵל יְהוָה יִרְאֵר לָנוּ "A god is Yahweh, and he gave us light,
אֲסִיר הַגְּבֻעֹתִים עֵד Bind the festival with twisted twigs unto the
קַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ horns of the altar."

This is a detail of the returning god's triumph over his enemies, and the whole context expounds the joy of victory over the forces of darkness and death. Then, as we have seen, rain and fertility come as a consequence of the god's victory and the restoration of the *ḡdāḡkū*. Restoration means in other terms the introduction of the Messianic state, of which there are many excellent descriptions in the prophetic texts. To conclude we may quote one example, Is. 35:

יְשׁוּעִים ¹ מְדַבֵּר וַיֵּצֵא	"The desert and the dry land shall be glad,
וְהַגֹּל עִרְבָה וְהַפְּרָה	and the steppe shall rejoice, and blossom
כְּהַבְשִׁילַת פְּרֵה הַפְּרָה	like the <i>hbsšlt</i> plant." ² It shall blossom abundantly,
וְהַגֹּל אֶת גִּילָת רִנָּתָהּ	and rejoice even with joy and singing:
כְּבוֹד הַלְבֵנוֹן נָתַן לָהּ	the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it,
וְהָר הַכְרֵמֶל וְהַשְּׁרָרֹן	the excellency of Carmel and Sharon,
הֵמָּה יִרְאוּ כְבוֹד יְהוָה	they shall see the glory of Yahweh,
וְהָר אֱלֹהֵינוּ	the excellency of our god.
וְהָיוּ יָדֵים רַפּוֹת	Strengthen ye the weak hands,
וּבְרָכִים כַּשְׁלוֹת אֲמָצוֹ	and confirm the feeble knees." ³

אֵז תִּפְקַחְנָה עֵינֵי עִוְרִים	Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened,
וְאָזְנֵי חֲרָשִׁים תִּפְתָּחֶנָּה	and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.
אֵז יִדְלֹג כְּאַיִל פֶּסֶחַ	Then shall the lame leap as harts,
וְהָיוּ לְשׁוֹן אֵלֶם	and the tongue of the dumb sing:
כִּי נִבְקְעוּ בַמִּדְבָּר	for in the desert shall break out
מַיִם וְנַחֲלִים בַּעֲרָבָה	waters and streams in the steppe." ⁴

In this way the desert, or the steppe, is described when the god has subdued his enemies and returns in triumph. Then, once more, he has his abode there as at the beginning of the ritual drama.

¹ The final *m* in this word may simply be due to a dittography, or it may be taken as the enclitic *m*.

² The Accadian *hbsšillatu*.

³ Vv. 1—3.

⁴ Vv. 5—6.

From what has been said, I believe it is no exaggeration if we state that there are essential points of agreement as to the ideas discussed between the areas of Near Eastern civilization from which we have cited our evidence. This does not imply anything like an identification of the religions or rituals of these areas. Accordingly, we might ask whether this agreement is due to the result of an influence from the East on the Western areas, or whether it is due to similar features inherent in the religions of each area. Both of these questions are, in my view, partly true, for there are essential elements in common between the various Near Eastern cultures, and at the same time there are fundamental differences. Furthermore, it has been proved, beyond doubt, that, e.g. in the Amarna age, small states like Ugarit and Palestinian kingdoms — to mention only these examples of minor states flourishing for some time as more or less independent powers — received many cultural elements from their neighbours in the East and in the South. As to the ideas connected with the ocean, for instance, it is a fact commonly accepted that they were adopted from the East.¹ The same may hold true also regarding the conceptions relating to the desert — though not necessarily; for, as a matter of fact, the idea of the desert as the dwelling-place of demons and monsters — hence equivalent to the dwelling-place of the dead, or the Nether World — may easily be assumed to be a feature inherent in all of the various Near Eastern civilizations.

At any rate, in the rituals where the idea of the parallelism between the 'desert' and the Nether World occurs, there is evidence of processions to this place during the annual festival symbolizing the death of the fertility god. In the Sumerian religion this is particularly the case in the Tammuz cult. It seems to be a fact that this cult played an important part since very early periods. It is true that we have no real textual evidence until about 2000 B.C., but, as Dr. Moortgat has shown in his recent work, *Tammuz. Der Unsterblichkeitsglaube in der altorientalischen Bildkunst* (1949), to which I have the opportunity to refer in this place, the Tammuz cult actually flourished much earlier.² For in this extremely well documented exposition, Moortgat has traced

¹ See e.g. Pedersen, *Israel* I—II, pp. 471, 543.

² Moortgat, *op. cit. passim*.

it far back to prehistorical ages, with which my suggestion agrees.¹ Furthermore, according to Moortgat, the Tammuz cult was connected with the annual spring-festival when the return of Tammuz from the Nether World was celebrated, and the main bearing of which were the revival of life and the renewal of the state.²

A point of great importance is Moortgat's argumentation as to the question of the syncretism of the Tammuz and the Shamash cults.³ As to this problem, I might refer to my discussion of the relation between the Tammuz and the Marduk cults — the latter deity being a synthesis of Tammuz, Shamash and Enlil.⁴ Also, I pointed to individual motifs common to the cults of Tammuz and Shamash.⁵ In this connection he also points out a certain opposition to the Tammuz cult in Accadian religion.

According to Moortgat's results, the Tammuz cult played an important part in Hurrian religion.⁶ Recent research has thrown light upon the rôle of the Hurrians as the conveyers of a number of Mesopotamian cultural elements to the countries of the Mediterranean.⁷ In Ugarit, for instance, there was an important Hurrian colony, and Hurrian influence on Ugaritic civilization is an established fact. Furthermore, it seems to be beyond doubt that some Sumerian and Accadian mythological compositions became known to the Western Semites through the Hurrians.⁸ Accordingly, if West-Semitic religions were influenced from Sumero-Accadian religion with regard to the ideas to which we have devoted our attention, it may well be through the Hurrians as intermediaries. But in order to solve this problem, further investigations are required which would however lead us too far from our subject. So, it only remains to summarize my results.

¹ Cf. above, pp. 24, 32 ff.

² Moortgat, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Moortgat's results agree very well with e.g. Frankfort, *Oriental Institute Communications* 13, pp. 48 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

⁴ See Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.; cf. above, pp. 23, 35, and *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, *passim*.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 23, n. 4.

⁶ Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff.

⁷ On the problem of Hurrian influences in West-Semitic civilizations see most recently Rowley, *Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age* (= *Bull. of the John Rylands Library* 32:1/1949), pp. 30 ff., with references to a selection of the relevant literature.

⁸ Thus, on a Hurrian fragment of the Gilgamesh epic, a name related to Noah occurs; cf. most recently Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f., with references.

Conclusion

Whether the occurrence of similar ideas, as to the parallelism between the 'desert' and the Nether World, is due to influence from the East on the development of West-Semitic thought, or not, I believe it may with a fair degree of certainty be concluded that, when connected with the ritual, these ideas are bound up with the fertility gods worshipped. The general outline of the course of events may be described in the following way: At the beginning we meet with the 'steppe' flourishing with verdure being the pasturage of the herds. Then, the enemies from the desert enter the god's field, destroy it, and make it a desert; at this moment the god descends to the Nether World. Then, the change occurs, and finally, the god's triumph over his enemies and his return to life are celebrated, the field again becoming the flourishing dwelling-place of the cattle. This general structure occurs in all of the three varieties examined, both the Sumero-Accadian types, which for the sake of briefness may be mentioned together, the Ugaritic, and the Hebrew types. Then, in the various types, special features may be more or less prevailing in individual texts. For, as a matter of fact, many texts do not contain a description of the whole course of events, but some may only contain allusions to certain details. This is particularly true in the O. T., where, in the Psalms as well as in passages of the Prophetical Books, there are more or less fragmentary allusions. In both O. T. and Mesopotamian texts we also meet with details of the general conception adopted in texts having a clear historical bearing — quite in accordance with the fact stated above as to the overlapping of mythology and history. In connection with this, it may also be stated that, in clearly religious compositions, actual historical facts are often referred to. This holds true as to Mesopotamian lamentations, for instance, which may contain allusions to historical enemies. Such allusions may have been introduced into texts during the course of their tradition in such a way as to apply a certain text to a special historical situation. This is also the case in the O. T. Generally speaking, O. T. public lamentations have a specific peculiarity of their own, *viz.* that even cultic events — to a great extent — are composed as containing descriptions of the

early history of the people. For this reason, in many Psalms, for instance, allusions to 'historical situations occur, and in Prophetical texts mythological and cultic motifs may be applied to particular situations. This may be applied to other texts than a few of those which have been touched upon above, for — provided that Pedersen's interpretation of Ex. 1—15 as a cult legend¹ is correct — this legend contains reflections of the same general conception as we have discussed. As a matter of fact, in these chapters, being a legend about a festival celebrated as an 'exodus' into the desert, we meet with many details agreeing with the conceptions involved in our investigation.

It goes without saying that this monograph is not intended to be an exhaustive study of all the evidence which could have been adduced. Nevertheless, I dare hope it will in some degree contribute to disentangling the ideas relating to our problems. Finally, I should like to add that what has been said above of the conception of the 'desert' has of course no bearing on the problem of the existence or non-existence of reflections of bedouin culture in the O. T. This problem has been dealt with by a number of scholars, but a discussion of it falls outside the scope of my present issue. The O. T. passages possibly connected with the 'nomadic ideal' belong to quite another trend of tradition, which may have existed collaterally with the conceptions discussed. On this point, I am in complete accordance with the well-known Norwegian scholar, Professor Mowinkel, who in his review of S. Nyström, *Beduinentum und Jahuismus*, stresses the same facts. The final sentence of his review runs as follows: "Nevertheless — the fact urges to a certain caution in the use of 'bedouin ideals' towards understanding the religious history of Israel."² But — as mentioned — these are problems which I have not to deal with in this context. On the other hand, I feel convinced that the parallelism between the 'desert' and Nether World, as observed by Tallqvist in Mesopotamian texts and by Pedersen in the O. T., is an important feature of the varieties of Near Eastern religion we have dealt with. That this conception is bound up with the cult of fertility gods, seems to me beyond doubt. And that, during certain periods of pre-exilic

¹ See Pedersen, *Israel* III-IV, pp. 728 ff.

² *Norsk Teol. Tidsskrift* 49/1948, p. 250.

times, Yahweh, too, was worshipped as such a deity seems to me to be a conclusion which is hard to avoid. If so, this monograph may be said to have corroborated the conclusions presented in my previous work, *Studies in the Book of Nahum*.¹ The occurrence of numerous allusions to this cult — particularly in the Psalms, but also in the Prophetical texts — is a strong argument in favour of this view. A number of scholars have observed that many Psalms and certain passages of the Prophetical texts are simply translations from Ugaritic.² It is an established fact that, when entering Palestine, the Hebrews adopted cult texts from the Canaanites. Is it likely that they only took over the texts without assimilating the cult in general, or at least without being strongly influenced by it? It is true that, in the O. T., there are many utterances opposing Canaanitic religious practises; but this does not exclude the fact that even their opponent were strongly influenced by them. According to Moortgat's work quoted above, a similar phenomenon occurs in Accadian religion: the circles worshipping Shamash, the sun-god, polemized the Tammuz cult, but a syncretistic religion was the outcome of the contact between the two cults. In my view, this is a close parallel to what happened in early Hebrew religion.

¹ This view is held by a number of scholars quoted in the above. As to the results presented in *Studies in the Book of Nahum*, they have in the main been accepted by such cautious scholars as Rowley, Thomas, and others.

² See most recently the important study on Hab. 3 by W. F. Albright, *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (1950), pp. 2 ff.

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